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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Born Virginia Feb.ry 11.th 1732.
General of the American Armies 1775.
Resignid 1783.
President of the United States 1789.

WASHINGTONIANA

CONTAINING

A Sketch of the Life and Death

OF THE LATE

Gen. George Washington;

WITH

A COLLECTION OF ELEGANT

EULOGIES, ORATIONS, POEMS, &c.

SACRED TO HIS MEMORY.

ALSO,

AN APPENDIX,

COMPRISING ALL HIS MOST VALUABLE PUBLIC PAPERS,

AND HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT.

LANCASTER:
Printed and Sold by WILLIAM HAMILTON, Franklin's Head,
in West King-Street.

1802.

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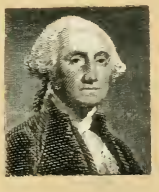
—NOTE—

IN the arrangement of the Orations, &c. the Editors have not attempted to decide on their respective merits, nor to designate the post of honor. *They have been published in the order in which they were collected. The late receipt of the few last, has inhibited the satisfaction of giving them an* entire *publication.*

F. JOHNSTON,
W. HAMILTON.



NATIONAL TRIBUTE.

IN the House of Representatives of the United States, December 23, 1799, general Marshal made a report from the joint committee appointed to consider a suitable mode of commemorating the death of general Washington.

HE reported the following resolutions, which passed both houses unanimously:

RESOLVED, *By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, That a marble monument be erected by the United States at the capitol of the city of Washington, and that the family of general Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it, and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

AND be it further resolved, That there be a funeral procession from congress-hall to the German lutheran church, in memory of general George Washington, on Thursday the 26th instant, and that an oration be prepared at the request of congress, to be delivered before both houses that day; and that the president of the senate, and speaker of the house of representatives, be desired to request one of the members of congress to prepare and deliver the same.

AND be it further resolved, That it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

AND be it further resolved, That the president of the United States be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect congress will ever bear for her person and character, of their condolence on the late affecting dispensation of providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of general Washington in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

And be it further resolved, That the president of the United States be requested to issue his proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States, the recommendation contained in the third resolution.

A PROCLAMATION,

By the President of the United States of America.

WHEREAS the Congress of the United States "in honor of the memory of general George Washington," have this day resolved, "that it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on the left arm, as mourning, for thirty days;" and, "that the president of the United States be requested to issue a proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States the said recommendation." *Now, therefore*, I, JOHN ADAMS, president of the United States, do hereby proclaim the same accordingly.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, and of the independence of the U. States the twenty-fourth.

JOHN ADAMS.

By the President,

Timothy Pickering, Sec'ry of State.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH,	9
Tribute, by Doctor Aiken,	25
Eulogium, by General Lee,	27
Major W. Jackson,	36
S. Chaudron,	55
Doctor Linn,	72
Fisher Ames, Esq.	89
Hon. Gouverneur Morris,	110
William C. Frazer, Esq.	119
Gunning Bedford, Esq.	133
John Vining, Esq.	155
David Ramsay, M. D.	162
General Frelinghuysen,	181
Charles Pinckney Sumner,	192
Samuel Bayard, Esq.	203
William Griffith, Esq.	215
Rev. Rosewell Messenger,	226
Rev. Samuel S. Smith,	234
Capt. Samuel White,	260
David M'Keehan, Esq.	267
Rev. Dr. Robert Davidson,	280
John Davis, A. M.	286
Rev. Uzal Ogden,	293
John Croes, A. M.	301
Doctor E. C. Dick,	304
Lewis Fontanes,	305
Character of General Washington, from a London paper,	307
Portrait of General Washington—by M. Chastelleaux,	310
Sketch of General Washington, from Brissott's Travels in North America,	311
Extract from an Elegiac Poem—By Charles Caldwell, A. M. M. D.	312
Extract from a Poem—by Richard Alsop,	316
Tribute, by Mr Paine, of Massachusetts,	319

Page.

Lines, from a London paper, - - - 319
On the death of General Washington, from a late London paper, - - - 320

APPENDIX.

Gen. Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the several States, - 1
Farewell Address, to the Armies of the United States, - 12
Address to the People of the U. States, on his retiring from Public Life, - - 17
Letter to the President of the United States, on accepting the appointment of Commander in Chief, - 34
Last Will and Testament, - 37
Address of the Officers of the Army of the United States, to Congress, December 1782, - 60
Gen. Washington's Letter to Congress, relative to the celebrated Anonymous Letters, - - 63
First Anonymous Letter, - - - 64
Second, ditto, - - - 68
Gen. Washington's Speech to the Officers, relative to the Anonymous Letters, - - - 70
Letter to the President of Congress, on the same subject, - 75

SKETCH

OF THE *LIFE* OF

Gen. Washington.

THIS illustrious character, the second son by a second marriage of AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON, was born on the 11th of February, 1732, in the county of Westmoreland, in the state of Virginia. His ancestors removed from Yorkshire, in England, about the year 1657, and settled in America. The particular objects of his juvenile studies, were, a critical knowledge of grammar, mathematics, particularly surveying, of which he became the most elegant and correct master; geography, history and natural and moral philosophy.

IN the year 1753 the French and Indians having committed depredations on our defenceless frontiers, along the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, the governor of Virginia, solicitous of forwarding a remonstrance on this subject, to the commander in chief of the enemies forces, and of preventing farther inroads on our settlements, used every precaution to find a proper character for this purpose, when our American hero, at that time not 21 years of age, inspired with true fortitude, offered his voluntary services on this hardy and perilous enterprize; and, after having executed the important duties required of him, with great promptitude and sagacity, returned to Virginia, where he received the sincerest congratulations, and warmest thanks, of the governor and council; and, as a mark of the high estimation in which they viewed his talents and merit, was appointed a major, and also adjutant-general of the Virginia troops. Two years after he became colonel of a regiment of Virginians; and, although not yet 23 years old, displayed the greatest address and valor, by marching into the western country, in the most inclement season, under difficulties that none

but a *Washington* could have surmounted—and there for a considerable time maintained a war against the French and Indians, whose force exceeded his at least three times in number; and, finally, after a severe and bloody conflict, defeated them.

The enemy being soon after reinforced with a number of fresh troops, reduced the gallant Washington, after a defence which evidenced the most unexampled bravery, to capitulate; on terms, however, highly honorable. He quitted the fort at the head of his troops with the honors of war, and carried with him all his military stores and baggage. Soon after, the unfortunate Braddock, by his zeal and impetuous valor, was led into an ambuscade, in which he not only lost his own life, but the greater part of his army were either slain or put to flight—the remnants of which the military genius and address of colonel Washington, who, upon this melancholy occasion acted as a voluntary aid, soon rallied, and brought off in perfect safety, although under a pressure of perhaps the most imminent danger that ever presented itself. He was the only officer on horseback who was not either killed or wounded.

The ensuing campaign being crowned with success, rendered it no longer necessary for him to continue his military pursuits; he, therefore, retired to the walks of private life, where he continued until after a lapse of about twenty years. During this period he filled many of the most important offices, in the execution of which he was celebrated for his promptitude, accuracy and integrity. In the year 1759 he married the present Mrs. Washington, then the amiable and beautiful widow Custis, with a fortune of thirty thousand pounds sterling.

In the year 1774 our first congress, composed of the most illustrious characters, were assembled to devise such plans as would be likely to secure our liberties, now threatened by the powerful hand of Great-Britain. In this dignified assembly he contributed essentially in pointing out the wise measures, which were adopted by that honorable body. The fatal blow having at length been struck by Great-Britain, it became immediately necessary to raise an army for our defence, at the head of which

the undaunted Washington was placed without disunion of vote or even a competition.

In 1775 at Cambridge he entered upon the duties of his dignified and important station of commander in chief—and here the eloquence of man would be too feeble to describe the arduous task he had undertaken, in order to introduce discipline into his new raised army, to obtain from them any effective services, to supply them with arms and ammunition, with provisions, with clothing and other essential necessaries; in short, to make them assume, even in a small degree, the appearance of an army fit to contend with the veteran bands of Great-Britain. Early in 1776 the British army, which he had for sometime confined within the narrow limits of the town of Boston, were, in a great measure, by his consummate prudence, reduced to the humiliating necessity of *evacuating* that place. In consequence of this *event* he not only received a most flattering and affectionate address from the people of Massachusetts, but also the most distinguished mark of esteem from congress, viz. a medal struck with appropriate emblems to perpetuate *its remembrance*.

His next positions were New-York and Long-Island, where difficulties pressed upon him much greater than those he had experienced at Boston. His army was composed of some regular troops, and an undisciplined militia. In opposition to which were 30,000 of the best troops Great-Britain could boast of, seconded by the most powerful navy in the world. Thus circumstanced, like the famous Fabius, he confined himself to a defensive war;—he held a post as long as he could, and then retreated to some more favorable position; and thus by *delay* obtained that conquest which he could not wrest from the enemies hands by *active force*. This prudent system of retreat drew much clamor and invective upon him from the malevolent, time-serving, little politicians of the day, some of whom even dared to doubt that courage and decision, ample proofs of which he has since so often manifested, during his military career; but his prudential and sound policy; nay, his genuine magnanimity, submitted to these approbrious insinuations, whereby he not only concealed from the enemy the real situation of his

army, but also prevented the country from being overwhelmed with a general panic. In the autumn of 1776 the British troops having been generally successful in all their enterprizes against our feeble force, pursued our retreating army into the state of New-Jersey, under the strongest conviction, that they would soon reduce it to perfect submission ; and indeed this event was the more to be apprehended, as the whole garrison of Fort Washington on the Hudson river, was about this time made prisoners of war. Immediately succeeded the retreat of the flying camp and several militia corps, whose times of enlistment were expired, and who respectively claimed their discharge. The whole army of general Washington now consisted of about 3000 men, without blankets, shoes, tents, or necessary supplies of any kind. Under these discouraging circumstances what was to be done ? The wise, the persevering Washington, conducted this little but virtuous band across the Delaware into Pennsylvania, pursued by an enemy elated with success and pressing hard on his rear. In this juncture of our affairs many proselytes were made, who joined the royal standard ; among whom were some distinguished characters from New-Jersey and Pennsylvania. The spirit of the country, for the first time, began to flag, and serious doubts were entertained by many, as to our obtaining the object of our wishes, *independence*. Washington, notwithstanding, stood firm and unshaken. The state of Pennsylvania, whose metropolis was daily threatened by the enemy, made a feeble but well-timed exertion by marching 2000 of the flower of her militia to head-quarters. With this detachment and the small force already at camp, the general's undaunted spirit conceived the bold and enterprizing idea of recrossing the Delaware and attacking the Hessians, then encamped near Trenton. On the memorable 26th of December, 1776, propitious heaven crowned the hazardous undertaking with complete success. Their commanding officer was slain, and one thousand killed, wounded and made prisoners. Immediately after succeeded one of the most brilliant achievements of general Washington's life. The consummate address, courage and enterprize, which he displayed in silently retiring, under cover of the night, from the face of a powerful enemy, and attacking, many miles in their rear, a strong detachment posted at Princeton, and en-

tirely routing them, with the loss of many hundreds killed, wounded and made prisoners, will ever be recorded, in grateful remembrance, in the hearts of his countrymen, and will likewise be considered as one of the most prominent features of his military fame.

With undeviating perseverance, the wise and prudent Washington pursued his old system of policy, "that of avoiding general actions," as much as possible; whereby he was not only enabled to encrease his own army, but prevented that of the enemy under Sir William Howe from obtaining possession of Philadelphia, the metropolis of America, until late in the fall of the year 1777—a year in which his military prowess was not less conspicuous than in any other. On the field of Brandywine a variety of fortuitous circumstances prevented his success. At the battle of Germantown he made a vigorous impression upon the enemy, which must unavoidably have crowned him with glory had his orders been strictly executed. On the 18th day of June, 1778, Sir Henry Clinton, with his army, evacuated the city of Philadelphia, and on the same day crossed the Delaware into the state of New-Jersey. General Washington, apprized of his movements, collected his whole force, and after performing the most rapid and fatiguing marches, in a very sultry season, overtook the enemy at a place called Freehold, on Monmouth, in the state of New-Jersey, on the 28th of the same month, where he gave them battle.

Upon this occasion general Washington displayed more than his usual coolness, courage and knowledge of military tactics, in the disposition which he made for a general attack. A variety of circumstances, not now necessary to be related, combined in preventing his obtaining a complete victory, and probably of making the whole British army prisoners of war. He however succeeded so far as to kill some hundreds of the enemy, and with his army lay on the field of battle the ensuing night.

In October 1781 the military career of general Washington was rendered still more illustrious by the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his whole army at York-town, in the state of Vir-

ginia. This brilliant and conclusive military operation was effected by the combined armies of France and the United States. In the year 1783 the peace, liberty and independence of the country being acknowledged and secured, our beloved general presented himself before congress, and returned into their hands that authority which he had received from them, and which he had so successfully exercised in conducting their armies through the war. But as this grand and majestic scene cannot be so well delineated as through the medium of his own words, we here subjoin his resignation and the answer of the president of congress upon that memorable occasion.

December 23d, 1783.

According to order, his excellency the commander in chief was admitted to a public audience, and being seated, the president, after a pause, informed him, that the United States in congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications; whereupon he arose and addressed congress as follows—

"Mr. president,

"The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which, however, was superceded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of heaven. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, encreases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in

this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate.

"PERMIT me, Sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of congress.

"I consider it an indispensible duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendance of them to his holy keeping.

"HAVING now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewel to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

To which the president returned the following answer:

"SIR,

"THE United States in congress assembled, receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops, through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity.

"You have persevered, 'till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in *freedom*, *safety* and *independence*;

on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations. Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow-citizens—but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command—it will continue to animate remotest ages.

"We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment. We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you we address to him our earnest prayer, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

Our illustrious hero, Cincinnatus like, immediately returned to his farm at Mount-Vernon, expecting there to spend the remainder of his days, and determined that no public employment should thereafter draw his attention from his favorite pursuit, *agriculture*. With inexpressible delight, he laid aside his military habit and assumed the simple garb of a plain Virginia planter. Having enjoyed himself but a few years in this sweet retirement, and his country finding it impossible to secure either *peace*, *liberty*, or *independence*, under the then inefficient government, again required his services as a member of the grand convention of the different states, of which that illustrious body unanimously elected him president.

Soon after, the new constitution framed by this assembly, was adopted by the several states, and general Washington unanimously appointed the executive officer by the name of *president*, which important trust he accepted with diffidence and reluctance, wishing for no farther honors, and desirous of spend-

ing his close of life in peace and retirement. Nothing but the ardency of his affections for his country could have induced him again to appear on the theatre of public life, which the following elegant and original letters of his own will evince.

April 16, 1789.

To the mayor, corporation and citizens of Alexandria.

GENTLEMEN,

Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt, on being called upon to determine, whether I would accept or refuse the presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice—the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe as well as America—the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form, and an ardent desire, on my part, to be instrumental in conciliating the good will of my countrymen towards each other, have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best, and you, my fellow-citizens, are from your situation in that number, know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution, "never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature." For at my age, and in my circumstances, what possible advantages could I promise to myself, from embarking again in the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life.

I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves and regard for your interests. The whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge for my future conduct. In the meantime, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bid adieu to my domestic connections, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still farther to awaken my sensibility, and encrease my regret at parting from the enjoyments of private life. All that now remains for me, is to commit myself

and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who on a former occasion, hath happily brought us together, after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge us with the same heart-felt felicity.

But words, my fellow-citizens, fail me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence, while from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbors, farewel.

(Signed) G°: WASHINGTON.

Answer of the president of the United States, to an address from the citizens of Baltimore, on his way to New-York, dated 17th April, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

The tokens of regard and affection which I have often received from the citizens of this town, were always acceptable, because I believed them always sincere. Be pleased to receive my best acknowledgments, for the renewal of them on the present occasion. If the affectionate partiality of my fellow-citizens, has prompted them to ascribe greater effects to my conduct and character, than were justly due, I trust the indulgent sentiment on their part, will not produce any presumption on mine. I cannot now, gentlemen, resist my feelings so much, as to withhold the communication of my ideas, respecting the actual situation of our national affairs. It appears that little more than common sense, and common honesty in the transactions of the community at large, would be necessary to make us a happy nation. For, if the general government, lately adopted, shall be arranged and administered in such a manner as to acquire the full confidence of the American people, I sincerely believe they will have greater advantages from their natural, moral and political circumstances, for public felicity, than any other people ever possessed.

In the contemplation of these advantages, now soon to be realized, I have reconciled myself to the sacrifice of my fondest wishes, so far as to enter again upon the stage of public life:

I know the delicate nature of the duties incident to the part which I am called to perform; and I feel my incompetence, without the singular assistance of *Providence*, to discharge them in a satisfactory manner. But having undertaken the task from a sense of duty, no fear of encountering difficulties, and no dread of losing popularity, shall ever deter me from pursuing what I conceive the true interest of my country.

(Signed) G^o: WASHINGTON.

This sense of duty, and steady attachment to the true interests of his country, were conspicuous through the whole of his administration—an administration worthy of universal imitation, being illustrious for its wisdom and justice, for its mildness and lenity, for its order and economy, for its virtue and piety.

In council as in camp general Washington shone with unrivalled lustre. Under the new government a new order of things was to follow, and wisdom and political skill were necessary to put the vast machine into motion. With a just and impartial expression of the gratitude his country felt towards those who had served her during the revolutionary war, he filled the offices directed by the constitution—and by his efforts the general bounties of the government were early distributed, through every part of the Union. The distresses of a long and destructive war were remembered no more—the benefits of commerce and agriculture—of peace and harmony, became the common possession of all.

The storm that had long been gathering, now burst forth, and France, shook to her centre by internal broils, plunged herself and Europe in one common destructive contest. Every energy of our Washington was now called into action. Difficulties and dangers crowded on every side—but difficulties and dangers were to him only subjects for new successes, and his conduct once more saved his country. Unbiassed by prejudices, uninfluenced by political attachments, unmoved by the opposition of a deluded mass of his countrymen, he determined on *neutrality*. Peace, wealth and happiness have been the

attendants of that measure, while a ruinous war, poverty and misery must have followed a contrary conduct.

On the 17th day of September, 1796, general Washington, in the character of president, addressed the people of the United States, announcing his intention of retiring from public life; which event soon after took place, and once more he returned to his beloved and calm retreat, at Mount-Vernon. He now entertained a well grounded hope that no interruption would break in upon his "present peaceful abode." The conduct, however, of the directory of France towards our country, indeed their manifest hostility to our government, soon rendered it necessary to increase the *present* and raise a *provisional* army—at the head of which the president of the United States, with the advice and consent of the senate, placed our beloved Washington on the 11th of July, 1798. On the 14th of December in the following year, the melancholy and momentous period arrived, when his relations and his country were at once bereaved of their *dearest friend* and *safest guide*.

By the report of his physicians, it appears that "having been exposed to a rain on the preceding day, general Washington was attacked with an inflammatory affection of the upper part of the windpipe, called in technical language *cynache trachealis*. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain in the upper and fore part of the throat, a sense of stricture in the same part, a cough, and a difficult, rather than a painful deglutition, which were soon succeeded by fever and a quick and laborious respiration. The necessity of blood-letting suggesting itself to the general, he procured a bleeder in the neighborhood, who took from his arm in the night twelve or fourteen ounces of blood. He could not by any means be prevailed on by the family to send for the attending physician 'till the following morning, who arrived at Mount-Vernon at about 11 o'clock on Saturday. Discovering the case to be highly alarming, and foreseeing the fatal tendency of the disease, two consulting physicians were immediately sent for, who arrived, one at half after three, and the other at four o'clock in the afternoon: in the mean time were employed two pretty copious

bleedings; a blister was applied to the part affected, two moderate doses of calomel were given, and an injection was administered, which operated on the lower intestines, but all without any perceptible advantage, the respiration becoming still more difficult and distressing. Upon the arrival of the first of the consulting physicians, it was agreed, as there were yet no signs of accumulation in the bronchial vessels of the lungs, to try the result of another bleeding, when about thirty-two ounces of blood were drawn, without the smallest apparent alleviation of the disease. Vapours of vinegar and water were frequently inhaled; ten grains of calomel were given, succeeded by repeated doses of emetic tartar, amounting in all to five or six grains, with no other effect than a copious discharge from the bowels. The powers of life seemed now manifestly yielding to the force of the disorder; blisters were applied to the extremities, together with a cataplasm of bran and vinegar to the throat. Speaking, which was painful from the beginning, now became almost impracticable; respiration grew more and more contracted and imperfect, 'till after 11 on Saturday night, retaining the full possession of his intellect—when he expired without a struggle.

"He was fully impressed at the beginning of his complaint, as well as through every succeeding stage of it, that its conclusion would be mortal; submitting to the several exertions made for his recovery, rather as a duty, than from any expectation of their efficacy. He considered the operations of death upon his system as coeval with the disease; and several hours before his death, after repeated efforts to be understood, succeeded in expressing a desire that he might be permitted to die without farther interruption.

"During the short period of his illness, he economized his time, in the arrangement of such few concerns as required his attention, with the utmost serenity; and anticipated his approaching dissolution with every demonstration of that equanimity for which his whole life has been so uniformly and singularly conspicuous."

"His fame, bounded by no country, will be confined to no age,"—is the eulogy even of a stranger, across the atlantic; with whose elegant and truly pathetic description of general Washington's virtues, we will conclude this short sketch of his life.

"General Washington was, we believe, in his 68th year. The height of his person was about five feet eleven; his chest full; and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped and muscular. His head was small, in which respect he resembled the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes were of a light blue colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his nose was long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait painter, used to say there were features in his face totally different from what he had ever observed in that of any other human being; the sockets for the eyes, for instance, were larger than what he ever met with before, and the upper part of the nose broader. All his features, he observed, were indicative of the strongest passions; yet, like Socrates, his judgment and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast in the eyes of the world. He always spoke with great diffidence, and sometimes hesitated for a word; but it was always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language was manly and expressive. At levee, his discourse with strangers turned principally upon the subject of America; and if they had been through any remarkable places, his conversation was free and particularly interesting, for he was intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He was much more open and free in his behavior at levee, than in private, and in the company of ladies still more so than when solely with men. Few persons ever found themselves for the first time in the presence of general Washington, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor did those emotions subside on a closer acquaintance; on the contrary, his person and deportment were such as rather tended to augment them. The hard service he had seen, the important and laborious offices he had filled, gave a kind of austerity to his countenance, and a reserve to his manners: yet he was the kindest husband, the most humane master, the steadiest friend. The whole range

of history does not present to our view a character upon which we can dwell with such entire and unmixed admiration. The long life of general Washington is not stained by a single blot. He was indeed a man of such rare endowments, and such fortunate temperament, that every action he performed was equally exempted from the charge of vice or weakness. Whatever he said or did, or wrote, was stamped with a striking and peculiar propriety. His qualities were so happily blended and so nicely harmonized, that the result was a great and perfect whole. The power of his mind and the dispositions of his heart were admirably suited to each other. It was the union of the most consummate prudence with the most perfect moderation. His views though large and liberal were never extravagant: his virtues, though comprehensive and beneficent, were discriminating, judicious and practical.

"YET his character, though regular and uniform, possessed none of the littleness which may sometimes belong to these descriptions of men. It formed a majestic pile, the effect of which was not impaired but improved by order and symmetry. There was nothing in it to dazzle by wildness, and surprise by eccentricity. It was of a higher species of moral beauty. It contained every thing great and elevated, but it had no false and tinsel ornament. It was not the model cried up by fashion and circumstance: its excellence was adapted to the true and just moral taste, incapable of change from the varying accidents of manners, of opinions and times. General Washington is not the idol of a day, but the hero of ages!

"PLACED in circumstances of the most trying difficulty at the commencement of the American contest, he accepted that situation which was pre-eminent in danger and responsibility. His perseverance overcame every obstacle; his moderation conciliated every opposition; his genius supplied every resource; his enlarged view could plan, revise and improve every branch of civil and military operation. He had the superior courage which can act, or *forbear to act*, as true policy dictates, careless of the reproaches of ignorance, either in power or out of power. He knew how to conquer by waiting, in spite of ob-

loquy, for the moment of victory; and he merited true praise by despising undeserved censure. In the most arduous moments of the contest, his prudent firmness proved the salvation of the cause which he supported. His conduct was, on all occasions, guided by the most pure disinterestedness. Far superior to low and grovelling motives, he seemed even to be uninfluenced by that ambition, which has justly been called the instinct of great souls. He acted ever as if his country's welfare, and that alone, was the moving spring. His excellent mind needed not even the stimulus of ambition, or the prospect of fame. Glory was but a secondary consideration. He performed great actions; he persevered in a course of laborious utility, with an equanimity that neither sought distinction, nor was flattered by it. His reward was in the consciousness of his own rectitude, and in the success of his patriotic efforts. As his elevation to the chief power was the unbiassed choice of his countrymen, his exercise of it was agreeable to the purity of its origin. As he had neither solicited nor usurped dominion, he had neither to contend with the opposition of rivals, nor the revenge of enemies. As his authority was undisputed, so it required no jealous precautions, no rigorous severity.

"His government was mild and gentle; it was beneficient and liberal; it was wise and just. His prudent administration consolidated and enlarged the dominion of an infant republic.

"Involuntarily resigning the magistracy which he had filled with such distinguished honor, he enjoyed the unequalled satisfaction of leaving to the state he had contributed to establish, the fruits of his wisdom and the example of his virtues.

"It is some consolation, amidst the violence of ambition and the criminal thirst of power, of which so many instances occur around us, to find a character whom it is honorable to admire, and virtuous to imitate—a conqueror for the freedom of his country! a legislator for its security! a magistrate for its happiness! His glories were never sullied by those excesses into which the highest qualities are apt to degenerate. With the greatest virtues he was exempt from the corresponding vices.

He was a man in whom the elements were so mixed, that "nature might have stood up to all the world" and owned him as her work. His fame, bounded by no country, will be confined to no age. The character of general Washington, which his cotemporaries regret and admire, will be transmitted to posterity; and the memory of his virtues, while patriotism and virtue are held sacred among men, will remain undiminished."

Tribute by doctor AIKEN.

POINT of that pyramid, whose solid base
Rests firmly founded on a nation's trust,
Which, while the gorgeous palace sinks in dust,
Shall stand sublime, and fill its ample space:

Elected chief of freemen!—greater far
Than kings, whose glittering parts are fix'd by birth;
Nam'd by thy country's voice for long try'd worth,
Her crown in peace, as once her shield in war!

Deign, WASHINGTON, to hear a British lyre,
That ardent greets thee with applausive lays,
And to the patriot hero homage pays.
O, would the muse immortal strains inspire,
That high beyond all Greek and Roman fame,
Might soar to times unborn, thy purer, nobler name!

THE

WASHINGTONIANA.

ORATIONS.

Funeral oration on the death of general WASHINGTON, *delivered in Philadelphia, at the request of congress;—By major-general* HENRY LEE, *member of congress from Virginia.*

IN obedience to your * will, I rise, your humble organ, with the hope of executing a part of the system of public mourning which you have been pleased to adopt, commemorative of the death of the most illustrious and most beloved personage this country has ever produced; and which, while it transmits to posterity your sense of the awful event, faintly represents your knowledge of the consummate excellence you so cordially honor.

DESPERATE indeed is any attempt on earth to meet correspondently this dispensation of heaven: for, while with pious resignation we submit to the will of an all-gracious Providence, we can never cease lamenting in our finite view of Omnipotent Wisdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world shakes to its centre; when every moment gives birth to strange and momentous changes; when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any share in the slaughter of the human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to risk the doleful casualties of war: What limit is there to the extent of our loss? None within the reach of my words to express; none which your feelings will not disavow.

THE founder of our fœderate republic—our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more. Oh that this was but questionable! Hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into

* *The two houses of congress.*

our agonized hearts its balmy dew. But, alas! there is no hope for us: our Washington is removed forever. Possessing the stoutest frame, and purest mind, he had passed nearly to his sixty-eigth year, in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himself, a slight cold, disregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppressive on Saturday, and defying every medical interposition, before the morning of Sunday put an end to the best of men. An end did I say—his fame survives! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He survives in our hearts, in the growing knowledge of our children, in the affection of the good throughout the world; and when our monuments shall be done away; when nations now existing shall be no more; when even our young and far-spreading empire shall have perished, still will our Washington's glory unfaded shine, and die not, until love of virtue cease on earth, or earth itself sinks into chaos.

How, my fellow-citizens, shall I single to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth! Where shall I begin in opening to your view a character throughout sublime. Shall I speak of his warlike achievements, all springing from obedience to his country's will—all directed to his country's good?

Will you go with me to the banks of the Monongahela, to see your youthful Washington, supporting, in the dismal hour of Indian victory, the ill-fated Braddock, and saving, by his judgment and by his valor, the remains of a defeated army, pressed by the conquering savage foe? Or, when, oppressed America nobly resolving to risk her all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of congress to the command of her armies: Will you follow him to the high-grounds of Boston, where to an undisciplined, courageous and virtuous yeomanry, his presence gave the stability of system, and infused the invincibility of love of country: Or shall I carry you to the painful scenes of Long-Island, York-Island and New-Jersey, when combating superior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by chiefs high in the roll of fame, he stood the bulwark of our safety; undismayed

by disaster; unchanged by change of fortune. Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep gloom unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks: himself unmoved.—Dreadful was the night; it was about this time of winter. The storm raged—the Delaware rolling furiously with floating ice forbad the approach of man. Washington, self-collected, viewed the tremendous scene—his country called; unappalled by surrounding dangers, he passed to the hostile shore: he fought; he conquered. The morning sun cheered the American world. Our country rose on the event; and her dauntless chief pursuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton, what his vast soul had conceived on the shores of Delaware.

Thence to the strong grounds of Morris-town he led his small but gallant band; and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whose matchless force was measurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hostile legions, conducted by a chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valor on the ever-memorable heights of Abraham, where fell Wolfe, Montcalm, and since our much-lamented Montgomery; all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his masterly conduct, our fathers, ourselves, animated by his resistless example, rallied around our country's standard, and continued to follow her beloved chief, through the various and trying scenes to which the destinies of our union led.

Who is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine—the fields of Germantown, or the plains of Monmouth; every where present, wants of every kind obstructing, numerous and valiant armies encountering, himself a host, he assuaged our sufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering republic. Shall I display to you the spread of the fire of his soul, by rehearsing the praises of the hero of Saratoga, and his much loved compeer of the Carolinas? No; our Washington wears not borrowed glory: To Gates—to Greene, he gave without reserve the applause due to their eminent merit; and long may

the chiefs of Saratoga, and of Eutaws, receive the grateful respect of a grateful people.

Moving in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his most distant satellites; and combining the physical and moral force of all within his sphere, with irresistible weight he took his course, commiserating folly, disdaining vice, dismaying treason and invigorating despondency, until the auspicious hour arrived, when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to submission the since conqueror of India; thus finishing his long career of military glory with a lustre corresponding to his great name, and, in this, his last act of war, affixing the seal of fate to our nation's birth.

To the horrid din of battle sweet peace succeeded, and our virtuous chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment tempting personal aggrandizement, hushed the discontents of growing sedition, and surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a ploughshare, teaching an admiring world that to be truly great, you must be truly good.

Was I to stop here, the picture would be incomplete, and the task imposed unfinished—Great as was our Washington in war, and much as did that greatness contribute to produce the American republic, it is not in war alone his pre-eminence stands conspicuous: his various talents, combining all the capacities of a statesman with those of the soldier, fitted him alike to guide the councils and the armies of our nation. Scarcely had he rested from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was still sounding in our ears, when he who had been our shield and our sword, was called forth to act a less splendid but a more important part.

Possessing a clear and a penetrating mind, a strong and a sound judgment, calmness and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmness and perseverance in resolutions maturely formed, drawing information from all, acting from himself, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotism: his own superiority

and the public confidence alike marked him as the man designed by heaven to lead in the great political as well as military events which have distinguished the æra of his life.

The finger of an overruling Providence, pointing at Washington, was neither mistaken nor unobserved; when to realize the vast hopes to which our revolution had given birth, a change of political system became indispensible.

How novel, how grand the spectacle! independent states stretched over an immense territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their union as the rock of their safety, deciding by frank comparison of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reason, a common government, through whose commanding protection, liberty and order, with their long train of blessings, should be safe to themselves, and the sure inheritance of their posterity.

This arduous task devolved on citizens selected by the people, from knowledge of their wisdom and confidence in their virtue. In this august assembly of sages and patriots, Washington of course was found—and, as if acknowledged to be most wise, where all were wise, with one voice he was declared their chief. How well he merited this rare distinction, how faithful were the labors of himself and his compatriots, the work of their hands and our union, strength and prosperity, the fruits of that work, best attest.

But to have essentially aided in presenting to his country this consummation of her hopes, neither satisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor those duties which the possession of those talents imposed. Heaven had not infused into his mind such an uncommon share of its ætherial spirit to remain unemployed, nor bestowed on him his genius unaccompanied with the corresponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a constitution, was shewing only, without realizing the general happiness. This great work remained to be done, and America, stedfast in her preference, with one voice summoned her beloved Washington, unpractised as he was

in the duties of civil administration, to execute this last act in the completion of the national felicity. Obedient to her call, he assumed the high office with that self-distrust peculiar to his innate modesty, the constant attendant of pre-eminent virtue. What was the burst of joy through our anxious land on this exhilerating event is known to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonstrations of their gratitude; and this high wrought delightful scene was heightened in its effect, by the singular contest between the zeal of the bestowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honors bestowed. Commencing his administration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wise principles announced by himself, as the basis of his political life. He best understood the indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and individual felicity: watching with an equal and comprehensive eye over this great assemblage of communities and interests, he laid the foundations of our national policy in the unerring, immutable principles of morality, based on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of free government, by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens or command the respect of the world.

"*O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint!*"

Leading through the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting interests, seconded by succeeding houses of congress, enlightened and patriotic, he surmounted all original obstructions, and brightened the path of our national felicity.

The presidential term expiring, his solicitude to exchange exaltation for humility returned, with a force encreased with increase of age, and he had prepared his farewel address to his countrymen, proclaiming his intention, when the united interposition of all around him, enforced by the eventful prospects of the epoch, produced a farther sacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of president followed, and Washington, by the unanimous vote of the nation, was called to resume the chief

magistracy: what a wonderful fixture of confidence! Which attracts most our admiration, a people so correct, or a citizen combining an assemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and stifling even envy itself? Such a nation ought to be happy; such a chief must be forever revered.

War, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out; and the terrible conflict deluging Europe with blood, began to shed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the first, outstretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant Wayne, the American eagle soared triumphant through distant forests. Peace followed victory, and the melioration of the condition of the enemy followed peace. God-like virtue which uplifts even the subdued savage.

To the second he opposed himself. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the stake.—Soon did his penetrating mind discern and seize the only course, continuing to us all the felicity enjoyed. He issued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole subsequent conduct, was sanctioned by the approbation of both houses of congress, and by the approving voice of the people.

To this sublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intrusion, unshaken by domestic turbulence.

> " *Justum et tenacem propositi virum*
> " *Non civium ardor prava jubentium,*
> " *Non vultus instantis tyranni*
> " *Mente quatit solida.*"

Maintaining his pacific system at the expence of no duty, America faithful to herself and unstained in her honor, continued to enjoy the delights of peace, while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter, under the accumulated miseries of an unexampled war; miseries in which our happy country must have shared, had not our pre-eminent Washington been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

PURSUING stedfastly his course, he held safe the public happiness, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal discord, 'till the revolving period of a third election approached, when he executed his interrupted but inextinguishable desire of returning to the humble walks of private life.

THE promulgation of his fixed resolution, stopped the anxious wishes of an affectionate people, from adding a third unanimous testimonial of their unabated confidence in the man so long enthroned in their hearts. When, before, was affection like this exhibited on earth?—Turn over the records of antient Greece—review the annals of mighty Rome,—examine the volumes of modern Europe; you search in vain. America and her Washington only afford the dignified exemplification.

THE illustrious personage called by the national voice in succession to the arduous office of guiding a free people, had new difficulties to encounter: the amicable effort of settling our difficulties with France, begun by Washington, and pursued by his successor in virtue as in station, proving abortive, America took measures of self-defence. No sooner was the public mind roused by prospect of danger, than every eye was turned to the friend of all, though secluded from public view, and grey in public service: the virtuous veteran, following his plough,* received the unexpected summons with mingled emotions of indignation at the unmerited ill-treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to risk his all in her defence.

THE annunciation of these feelings, in his affecting letter to the president accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

FIRST in war—first in peace—and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life; pious, just, humane, temperate and sincere; uniform, dignified and commanding, his example was

* *General Washington, though opulent, gave much of his time and attention to practical agriculture.*

as edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example lasting.

To his equals he was condescending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections exemplarily tender: correct throughout, vice shuddered in his presence, and virtue always felt his fostering hand; the purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

His last scene comported with the whole tenor of his life.—Although in extreme pain, not a sigh, not a groan escaped him; and with undisturbed serenity he closed his well spent life.—Such was the man America has lost—such was the man for whom our nation mourns.

Methinks I see his august image, and hear falling from his venerable lips these deep sinking words:

"Cease, sons of America, lamenting our separation: go on, and confirm by your wisdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers: Reverence religion, diffuse knowledge throughout your land, patronize the arts and sciences; let liberty and order be inseparable companions; controul party spirit, the bane of free governments; observe good faith to, and cultivate peace with, all nations; shut up every avenue to foreign influence; contract rather than extend national connection; rely on yourselves only: be American in thought, word, and deed. Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the constant object of my terrestrial labors; thus will you preserve undisturbed to the latest posterity the felicity of a people to me most dear, and thus will you supply (if my happiness is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliss high heaven bestows."

Eulogium on the character of general WASHINGTON *; pronounced before the Pennsylvania society of the Cincinnati. By major* WILLIAM JACKSON, *aid-de-camp to the late president of the United States, and secretary-general of the Cincinnati.*

TO consecrate the memory of illustrious men—to record their actions—and to celebrate their praise, has been the laudable practice of every age, and the grateful duty of every people.

THE rudest nations have thus dispensed the rewards and the motives of virtue—while the arts and sciences of polished society have contributed their noblest efforts to this, their best, and highest application.

CONFORMING to this venerable usage, and influenced by all the nobler affections, the veteran associates of the immortal Washington have dedicated this auspicious day, to the review of his glorious atchievements, and the celebration of his unrivalled fame.

BUT their too partial choice has devolved on incompetent powers, the performance of that duty, to which the highest order of genius would have been unequal.

WHO shall delineate a just portrait of that character, which was perfect in all its relations—or in what language shall the story of that life be told, whose every action was above all praise?

To confer the just meed of eulogium on this inestimable character—to entwine the blended glories of the hero and the statesman—with them to mingle the milder radiance of religion and morals, would require an inspiration, not only of those sentiments, which pervade every class of men in this extensive nation—but of those opinions, which his unequalled worth has impressed throughout the world.

Of legislators, to whose labors and honors he was associated by all that was useful and dignified.

Of armies, to whom he was endeared by every obligation of gratitude and glory.

Of a people, by whom he was regarded as their father, guide and protector.

Of the holy ministers of religion, by whom he was beloved and admired.

Of his enemies in war, by whom he was at once dreaded and revered.

Of the wise and just of all nations, of whom he was the ornament and the example.

In contemplating this necessary subdivision of the panegyric, which I am called to pronounce, this most respectable audience will be led to indulge a candor, proportioned to the magnitude of the subject, and the powers of the organ, to whom the arduous duty has been confided.

The suffrages, perhaps the prejudices, of mankind, have concurred in assigning to the profession of arms, the first station in the ranks of glory.

On the present occasion, however, the decision is of no importance.

The hero, whom we now commemorate, was alike pre-eminent in council, and in the field. The olive and the laurel had equally contributed their honors to form the chaplet of his renown.

It is only, therefore, in the order of his distinguished services, that our attention is first attracted to his military career.

Nor is it the less interesting, that the first display of his brilliant genius in war, should have been made in concert with the troops of that nation, whose banners he was hereafter to brave—and whose legions he was destined to encounter in the defence of his country, and in the maintenance of her freedom and independence.

Equally interesting is the singular fact, that a parent's fond solicitude had been the happy instrument of preserving him to that country, and to the high destination of his future honors—for, impelled by the martial disposition of his mind, he was about to engage in the naval service of Great-Britain at the infant age of fifteen years. But, restrained by filial affection, he yielded to the anxious entreaties of his mother, and relinquished the object of his choice.

Who does not bless the memory of this tender mother! who does not reverence the piety of her exalted son!

Thus was the stupendous fabric of his fame placed on the everlasting basis of virtue: and thus were the immense advantages, which flowed to his country, derived from the purest source of a private duty.

Summoned to the lists of glory at an age, when talents are unaided by experience, and when the ardor of youth is but little tempered by the rules of prudence, he formed, in his first essay in arms, a rare example of the most heroic valor, combined with the most consummate skill.

The one was exerted to stem the torrent of victory obtained by a vindictive foe: the other was employed to rescue from ruin the devoted remnant of an unfortunate army.

Admiring veterans resigned to the youthful warrior the protection of their discomfited troops, and committed to his superior judgment the conduct of a retreat, which covered him with glory, and wreathed his brow with the laurel of success.

The brave, but unhappy Braddock, expired in the anguish of defeat—the gallant and sympathizing Washington was consoled by the safety, and honored with the applause of his surviving friends.

The high promise, which was here given of a vast capacity for war, was nobly realized in the command and guidance of those armies, by whose active valor and inflexible fortitude, the liberties and sovereignty of the United States were maintained and established.

In that eventful moment, when representation and remonstrance had been exhausted—when the alternative of resistance alone remained to an injured people—when every hazard was preferred to abject submission—and when that people had resolved to meet their parent-state in arms.

To whose care was the palladium of their liberties entrusted? On whom did the unanimous choice of their enlightened representatives, devolve the daegerous honor of conducting this last, this dread appeal?

To the virtue, the wisdom, the valor, and the fortitude, of your immortal Washington—to the hero, who was at once the sword and buckler of his country, was the momentous trust confided.

To him was assigned the defence of our hearths and our altars—the protection of our women and children—and the preservation of all that was dear to freemen, our national honor.

How well, how faithfully, the sacred trust was discharged, let the splendid and important scenes of seven years conflict proclaim to an admiring world!

Impressed by a perfect sense of the high responsibility attached to his exalted station—and conscious of the pre-eminence in toil and danger, to which he was called, he yielded implicit obedience to the summons—and, resigning the utmost enjoy-

ment of domestic felicity, he was solely devoted to those duties, which involved the safety and happiness of his country.

Repairing to the immediate theatre of military operation, in the vicinity of Boston, he instantly communicated, to the patriotic bands of New-England, that spirit of confidence, which was the result of his presence, and that observance of order, which was essential to effective force.

The extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of a veteran army invested by the hasty levies of a people, whom it had been sent to coerce, and of that army indignantly expelled the land, which it had been commissioned to subdue.

This great event, which was to some the termination of their toil, and the period of their danger, was to him but the renewal of equal labors, the commencement of more anxious cares.

The invading army, strengthened by a vast accession of force, and supported by a powerful marine, resumed its operations; and, under leaders of distinguished bravery and talents, extended its menace to the entire subjugation of our country.

Success, correspondent to these immense preparations, was for a season obtained.

The firm, but unavailing, efforts of our intrepid chief were restrained to defensive measures. Yet the hopes of America were reposed on that skilful policy, which he adopted to protract the war—and on that consummate prudence, by which he gave to defence the highest advantages, of which it was susceptible.

The retreat from Long-Island, which excited the astonishment, and extorted the praise of his enemy, will pass to posterity as a consummation in the art of war.

While the victorious enterprize of Trenton, and the successful attack at Princeton, will be commemorated as the resto-

ration of public confidence, and the rescue of our declining cause.

WHERE is the war-worn soldier, whose ebbing pulse does not beat high at these remembrances!

WHERE is the emulous and gallant youth, who does not thence anticipate his own atchievements in his country's cause!

ADVANCING to meet the incursion of a powerful army, he encountered their force at the Brandywine—where his gallant troops, though confident in the conduct, and animated by the example of their heroic leader, were compelled to resign, to discipline and numbers, the hard-won honors of the field.

REPULSED, but not dismayed, he was soon in a capacity to resume the offensive—and deeply impressing the energies of his character, and displaying the vast resources of his mind, in the battle of Germantown, he unnerved the plans of subjugation, and invigorated the hopes of his country.

THE movements of the main army of the enemy were arrested by the formidable position, which was occupied by our skilful chief—and their farther attempts were limited to the partial operation of detachments.

IN assaulting the entrenched post at Red Bank, the German troops, led by the gallant Donop, were repulsed with dreadful slaughter, and their wounded leader was left a prisoner on the field.

THE god-like Washington dispatched, from his camp, an officer to assure him of his personal concern, and to offer every attention which his situation might require. He was even charged with the care of his removal, if it should be desired, within the British lines.

THE profound sensibility of the hostile chief was expressed in the following message—

"CONVEY, Sir, to general Washington, the deep impression of my gratitude—my situation admits not, at this time, of a personal acknowledgement—but the first moments of my recovery, should such be the will of heaven, shall be devoted to place before him the homage of my heart."

WHERE is the testimonial of equal impression with the praise of a dying enemy!

WHAT powers of eulogy can hope to reach the pathos of such praise!

THE British army, alarmed for its safety in an untenable position, prepared to concentrate its force, and to re-occupy the post of New-York.

THE strenuous efforts of the American chief to engage a battle, and to intercept their retreat, were rendered abortive by an error in the conduct of a subordinate attack, at the plains of Monmouth, which enabled the British general to accomplish his purpose.

PASSING to the last scene of our military drama, we are called to contemplate, on this great occasion, the vast and various powers, by which the hero of our country was distinguished.

WISDOM to conceive—prudence to conceal—judgment to direct—and valor to execute a plan of operations, the most important in its consequences, which the annals of war can furnish, were eminently exemplified in the whole train of measures, by which the investment and capture of the British army, at Yorktown, were formed and atchieved.

THE limits of this discourse do not admit a recital, which would include the varied incidents of the revolutionary war.

COMPELLED to abridge the enumeration of events, I have endeavored to give to the most prominent points of action, distinguished by the presence of our gallant chief, such illustra-

tion as might mark the progress of the contest, and tend to designate the wisdom and vigor of that conduct, by which the operations of our armies were directed, and the hopes of our country were completely realized.

It is with regret, as it is of necessity, that I pass, in summary relation, the judicious instructions issued to subordinate commands and detachments—the unremitting exertions, by which the organization and discipline of a new-formed army were effected—the anxious cares, by which that army was supplied—the sublime influence, by which it was continued in active service, through the rigor of the most inclement seasons, and under the pressure of discouragement, which the mind shudders to review.

On these topics, the delighted historian will dilate with increasing praise—and instructed posterity will dwell with gratitude and pride.

At the approach of peace an occasion arose, in which the best faculties of his superior mind were summoned to their utmost exertion—and in which the feelings of his heart were to meet in strong collision with the dictates of his judgment, and a paramount sense of public duty.

That army, by whose unshaken fidelity, and invincible fortitude, the glory and fortunes of America had been upheld, in all the vicissitudes of the war, was on the eve of dispersion.

Those faithful comrades, in honor and misfortune, were to separate for ever, under the most afflicting circumstances of individual adversity.

To their country they had secured the blessings of peace, and the boon of independence—and to every class of their fellow-citizens a full participation in those blessings, enhanced by the enjoyment of that property, which, in their protected avocations, they had been enabled to preserve or to acquire.

To the disbanded veteran, in the decline of life, was opened the cheerless prospect of extreme penury, aggravated, in many instances, by wounds and inability to labor. His honor and his arms, "the instruments of his glory," were all that he possessed.

Maimed and disfigured by honorable scars, he was become a stranger in the place of his nativity—and he was no longer remembered by the companions of his early years. His long-left home was in the occupancy of another, and his future abode was only certain to be wretched.

While oppressed by these sensations, and assailed by the angry passions, which their situation excited, the army were invited, by every consideration, which the most seductive persuasion could suggest, to redress their wrongs, and resent the alledged ingratitude of their country.

Argument and eloquence were exhausted to effect the adoption of this fatal advice.

To counteract the dangerous measure—to preserve inviolate the honor of his troops, and the safety of his country, the wisdom and firmness of the virtuous Washington were immediately interposed.

With his heart wrung by the sufferings of the army—with his mind deeply affected by the counsel, which had been offered to remedy their grievances—conscious of their merits, and no less sensible to the inability of the country to fulfil its spipulations—he convened his officers—and presenting himself as mediator between the distresses of the troops, and the public incapacity, at that time, to relieve them—he addressed himself to their judgment, their honor, and their patriotism.

His opinions, framed on the irresistible conclusions of truth, and urged with all the force of reason and sentiment, were instantly adopted—and the sublime spectacle was exhibited of "an army victorious over its enemy,—victorious over itself."

In the last exercise of his military functions, the social interests of his country engaged his benevolent attention, and a solicitude to promote her political prosperity, employed the reflections of his patriotic mind.

Addressing to the executives of the several states an affectionate farewel, he unfolded to their view the matured lessons of experience, in a system of advice, eminently calculated to advance the happiness of their constituents—and worthy to be transmitted, in indelible characters, to distant posterity.

Thus was the splendid structure of his military character completed—and thus was reared, to the glory of confederated America, an ever-enduring monument of the purest patriotism, and the most important public services.

The rights of his country maintained—her independence acknowledged—the complaints of his meritorious, suffering army appeased—and his high trust, in all its relations, sacredly fulfilled, he appeared before the great council of the nation, to claim the indulgence of retirement, and to resign the authority, with which he had been invested.

A more august scene has never been displayed. The triumph of virtue and freedom was complete. He retired, amid the blessings and applause of grateful millions, to the shade of private life, and to the enjoyment of that domestic felicity, from which, during eight years of anxiety, toil and danger, he had been detained by an abstracted devotion to public duty.

However desirous to call your attention to the useful, the virtuous and exemplary tenor of his private life; yet the rapid succession of public events, which scarcely permitted him to repose from the toils of war, obliges me to refer this interesting topic to a subsequent part of the discourse.

The voice of his country, to which he was ever obedient, was again raised to call him from his tranquil and happy retirement,

That frame of government, which, in a period of danger, and under the pressure of foreign hostility, had been sufficient to consolidate the interests, and to educe the resources of the United States, was found incompetent, in the relaxation of peace and fancied security, to control those objects of national concern, which were essential to the safety and happiness of the American people.

The fair prospect of our rising empire was obscured—the failure of our national engagements—the dissolution of our union—the consequent evils of rivalry—and the eventual horrors of war, were all impending.

The crisis was alarming beyond expression, and required an immediate interposition of the most patriotic exertions to avert the threatened calamities.

In the delegated wisdom and patriotism of the several states, the sage and virtuous Washington was again distinguished, and again pre-eminent.

Elected, by an unanimous suffrage, to preside over those deliberations, on which the fate of a mighty nation, and the felicity of millions were suspended, the dignity of his character, and the influence of his example, gave, to the discussion of different interests, a spirit of conciliation, which resulted in the noblest concessions—and an impression of national deference, in which subordinate considerations were merged and extinguished.

Yes, my fellow-citizens, to his accurate perception of our several interests—to his just construction of what was required to reconcile them—no less than to his skill and valor, in the day of battle, are we indebted for a large portion of our national harmony, and social happiness.

It is not in language to appreciate, with just estimation, the advantages, which, on this great emergency, were derived to his country, from the mild dignity of his manner, and the harmonizing character of his deportment.

In them was personified that accommodation, which the crisis demanded, and which the great instrument of our national safety, most happily, proclaims in all its provisions.

On the adoption of this auspicious substitute to our imperfect confederation—when the voice of united America was to designate the most deserving citizen, to administer the important duties of the executive department—the choice was conformed to the gratitude of the nation, and to the high desert of her most beloved, and most respected patriot.

The illustrious Washington was again the object of undivided esteem, and the depositary of the public confidence.

To him, as to an unerring guide, were committed the difficult and delicate arrangements of a new-formed government, co-extensive with the limits, and embracing the various interests of "our wide-spreading empire."

Renouncing the pleasures and the elegancies of his chosen retreat, he consented to embark the rich treasure of his fame on an untried element—and, solely actuated by the will of his country, he resigned to her wishes the evening of that life, whose morn and meridian had been devoted to her service.

To trace the merits of his civil administration—to remark the judgment and impartiality, with which its most delicate duties were discharged—to observe the unwearied investigation, on which his judicious selection to office was grounded—to review those opinions, which were submitted, for co-operation, to the other branches of government—to notice the scrupulous delicacy, with which he abstained from encroachment on the province of their authority—while he maintained, with undeviating firmness, the powers which the constitution had exclusively assigned to the executive organ, would far exceed the limits of an eulogium.

They are classed in the highest order of precedents, and are most usefully referred to the historical amplification of his instructive life.

The immediate effects of so much virtue, wisdom and exertion, were obvious to the most superficial observer.

Under the auspices of that government, which the weight of his opinions had so largely contributed to frame, and to establish, and under the happy influence of such an administration of its provisions, the prosperity of our country was advanced beyond the most sanguine expectations of patriotism.

Hope and happiness were substituted to gloom and misfortune—and national respect succeeded to national degradation.

The labor of the husbandman, the industry of the mechanic, the enterprize of the merchant, were all protected and rewarded.

The surplus products of our soil were exchanged in profitable barter—the busy hum of men was again heard in our deserted harbors—and the canvass of our commerce was spread to every gale.

The restoration of public credit gave confidence to private transaction—and the strict dispensation of justice silenced the last murmur of complaint.

It was no less honorable to the people of the United States, than to their illustrious benefactor, that the acknowledgment of his transcendent merits was the delightful theme of every class and condition.

Infancy was taught to lisp his praise—youth and manhood poured forth the effusions of their gratitude—and the blessings of age were expressed with the fervor of feeling, and the solemnity of religion.

States and individuals were emulous to express his worth. He was the boast of our nation among strangers—and an object of veneration to every people.

In this happy conjuncture of our affairs, the torch of war was lighted in Europe, and threatened to extend its flame to this favored portion of the globe.

To that guardian care, whose unceasing vigilance watched over us—to the hero, whose protecting arm, in the hour of *inevitable* conflict, had borne aloft the conquering banner of our country, were we indebted for the preservation of peace, and an exemption from the distress and danger of foreign war.

Proclaiming to the people of the United States, and to the belligerent powers, the determination of our government to maintain an impartial neutrality, he continued, by an undeviating course of honorable policy, to ensure to his country the blessings of peace, and the benefits of the most advantageous position.

During the desolation of war her commerce was extended, and her redundant harvests administered to the wants of less favored nations.

On the revolution of his official term of service, an opportunity was afforded to express the public sense of his administration—and it was manifested in the most singular demonstration of gratitude and applause, that has ever been bestowed.

Having nominated, in the first instance, to all the offices of the general government—and having unavoidably disappointed the wishes of numerous expectants,—yet such had been the propriety of his appointments, and such the purity of his conduct, that, on the second election of chief magistrate, there was not found, among several millions of people, a single dissent from the choice of this immaculate man.

He was unanimously re-elected to preside over their political concerns, and to continue the blessings of his administration.

Among the multiplied advantages of that administration, the philanthropist will review, with peculiar pleasure, an inva-

riable attention to conciliate the aboriginal inhabitants of our country, and an unremitting endeavor to ameliorate their hapless condition.

Regarding the interests of this unfortunate race as sacred—and viewing a compliance with their claims to protection, as among the first duties of the government, his beneficent patronage was extended to every object which might promote their welfare, or prevent the evils incident to their situation.

To the injunctions of public negociation, he united the admonitions of personal sensibility, and the most benevolent concern for this unhappy people.

The astonished savage beheld, in the far-famed chief of an hostile nation, the protector of his tribe, and the zealous friend of their happiness—his doubts of safety were changed to admiring confidence—and the vindictive spirit of revenge was lost in a grateful sense of unexpected favor and kindness.

Having obtained, by treaty, a surrender of the military posts on our western frontier, he was enabled, in a great measure, to carry into effect the magnanimous policy, which he had instituted towards the Indian tribes—and to extend, at the same time, to the white inhabitants, in that quarter of the Union, the security of peace, and the benefits of a friendly intercourse with their immediate neighbors.

While intent on the completion of a general pacific system, in relation to the affairs of the United States, he was not insensible to the mutable policy of nations, nor inattentive to the necessary measures of military defence.

He believed it essential to the safety of our extensive commerce, and to the dignity of our national character, to enter on the formation of a naval establishment, which he considered as the best, and the natural, defence of the United States.

The sanction of his opinion was accordingly given to this important measure.

In reviewing the principal features of his public character, and their beneficial results, we are led no less to applaud the benevolence, than to admire the discernment, of his philanthropic and capacious mind.

With native, and acquired, propensities to military glory—with every incentive to the exercise of arms, which consummate skill in war, or the hope of distinction could supply—peace was the ruling principle of his conduct, and the tranquil prosperity of his country was the dearest object of his ambition.

In the grateful belief that this anxious wish was accomplished, he intimated his intention to decline the honors of his high station, and to withdraw from all public employment.

To this intimation, conveyed in an address to the people of the United States, was subjoined a series of opinions, on the subject of their public concerns, the legacy of an affectionate father to a beloved family, containing the most instructive, interesting and important advice that has ever been submitted to any nation.

An observance of those maxims would ensure our political welfare, and promote our social happiness—they are no less calculated to improve the heart than to inform the judgment—they should be committed to the memory of the young, and the meditation of the old—they are invaluable to the present generation—and they will be regarded by succeeding ages, as the best and highest eulogium of this transcendent character.

Yielding to his desire of repose, his grateful countrymen invoked the blessing of heaven on the close of his illustrious life, and acquiesced in his intention to retire.

Behold him returned to the station of a private citizen, enforcing, by correct example, those rules of conduct, which, with modest diffidence, he had offered to the consideration of his country.

Divested of every distinction, and without a personal attendant, he mingled in the throng of citizens, and was the first to express the homage of his esteem, which was respectful, affectionate and sincere, at the inauguration of his successor—to whom, no less than to the memory of the illustrious dead, it is due to remark that, in their personal intercourse, and in all their official relations, the most cordial friendship, and beneficial harmony, had uniformly subsisted.

To attest the perfection of public principle, it will be for ever remembered that the distinguished patriot, who had so long, and so ably, presided in the concerns of the nation, consented to accept a secondary commission, at a period of life, when no consideration but the safety of his country, and complete confidence in the measures of her government, could have required or prompted the service of the venerable chief.

The sentiments of his judicious and comprehensive mind, as expressed in his own words, on this important occasion, are too honorable to his memory, too just in their application to his successor, and too interesting to our country, in their relation to future events, not to be here recited. See appendix, p. 34.

Such was the triumph of patriotism—and such the dignified completion of his public character.

With the accomplishments of the hero, and the attributes of the statesman, we are now to connect the interesting theme of domestic life, and the useful virtues of his private character.

Favored of heaven, he was blest in the most endeared relation of human society.

The amiable and much respected partner of his happiness, enjoyed his affection and esteem, and was worthy to participate the honors of his exalted station.

The practice of his filial piety, which had been distinguished at an early age, was continued until the death of his surviving parent, with unabated tenderness and respect.

His fraternal love was exemplary, as it was sincere—and the munificent provisions of his will, attest the affection which he bore to his kindred, and the relatives of his family.

Nor was this munificence bounded by the limits of consanguinity. The interests of freedom and science were anxiously consulted, and most generously advanced.

Age and infirmity were the objects of his kind regard—

And the instruction of youth was connected with the emancipation of the bondsman—as a mean of protecting his rights, and rendering him safe and useful to society.

The friend and the stranger were received with cordial welcome at his hospital mansion—and his beneficence to his neighbors was returned with the most affectionate attachment.

Combining, with a general patronage of science, and useful institutions, a particular attention to the improvements of agriculture, he diffused his observation and experience, in this important pursuit, wherever they could be beneficial—extending his correspondence, on this interesting subject, to other nations.

Such were the outlines of his domestic life—and such were his private avocations.

Unable, on a careful review of eminent characters, to discover an apposite resemblance to the constellation of his virtues and talents, I forbear to enter on partial comparisons, which could not dignify, and would but imperfectly illustrate the hero of our country.

Enriched by nature with her choicest gifts—she had, with equal liberality, bestowed upon him the greatest advantages of external form, and the highest degree of intellectual endowment. To the noble part of a lofty stature, were united uncommon grace, strength, and symmetry of person: and, to the commanding aspect of manly beauty, was given the benignant smile, which, inspiring confidence, created affection.

In being thus minute, I do not mean to arraign your delighted remembrance of the hero, which the short lapse of a fleeting year has not effaced.

Yet were mine the powers of description to produce a perfect image, I would present him to your enraptured imagination—as he was seen in battle, calm and collected—as he appeared in council, dignified and serene—as he adorned society, gracious and condescending.

But, O mournful reflection! that pleasing, that venerable form now moulders into dust. Sealed in death are those eyes, which watched over our safety: closed for ever are those lips, which spake peace and happiness to our country.

Yet the dark night of the tomb shall not obscure the lustre of his fame—and, when brass and marble shall have fallen to decay, the sweet remembrance of his virtues, passing in proud transmission to remotest ages, shall endure for ever.

Funeral oration, delivered before the French lodge L'Aménité. *By brother* SIMON CHAUDRON.

My brethren,

OUR brother, GEORGE WASHINGTON, is no more!

A NEW spectacle bursts on the eye of philosophy. The whole universe, perhaps, for the first time, will unite in offering a tribute of gratitude to the memory of a mortal!

WE, my brethren, whom fate has placed on the theatre of his glory, and near to his last remains, we ought to hasten, as the apostles of humanity, to strew the earliest flowers on the tomb of her hero.

FEAR not, respected shade, that I would compare thy name to the names of those unfortunately celebrated as demi-gods, whose greatness was derived from the annihilation or destruction of mankind, and whose bloody triumphs foreboded slavery or death.

THY glory is erected on the basis of thy virtues; thou hast extended thy conquests only in the hearts and over the opinions of men; and, on this very earth, which human corruption and avarice have watered with blood and tears, thou art the first who hast dared to establish the principles of justice and liberty.

MOST just of mortals! even thy death, for which a world is bathed in tears, will result to the benefit of man. The grief of nations for thy loss will be a terrible lesson to their oppressors; it will announce to them the near approach of the dissolution of their power, and the triumph of reason over the shameful prejudices of slavery. It will convince them, how little is their greatness compared with the empire of virtue, whose only limits are the boundaries of the universe.

If now, disencumbered, as thou art, of the trammels of mortality, thou canst still feel an interest in sublunary concerns; how affecting to thee must be the view of those rewards, which the love and gratitude of thy country are this day lavishing upon thee. These broken words, which terminate only in sobs; this heart-rending eagerness to announce the loss of a great man, and the inability to do it except by tears; this display of grief, which the charms of youth and beauty render so powerful, that each family appears to have lost its father and benefactor; this common burst of blessings and tears, must all declare to thee, that, in quitting life, thou hast only hastened forward in the road to immortality.

Brethren, if my soul were less oppressed, I would undertake to recal to your recollection, all those titles by which Washington commanded the eternal grief of his country, and the esteem of all the earth. I would undertake to follow him in that difficult and glorious career, into which he was impelled by his devotion to the cause of humanity. But, I find that the feeling heart is better able to cherish and admire great men, than to celebrate them. I find that the feeling heart cannot offer any tribute to their memory which will not be weakened by grief.

And how can I secure myself against that sentiment which all feel, which every thing around me combines to inspire. This immense portion of America, whose chains he broke asunder, re-echoes with the voice of woe; all hands are raised to heaven in search of the father, the deliverer of their country. The sound of the muffled bells ascends on high, the temples of God are shrouded with the badges of mourning, the deep-mouthed engines of war, which, under his direction, thundered only for the public good—all, all, announce that a great calamity has befallen this part of the human race, who owe to him their happiness and independence.

But the country which experienced his fatherly protection, is not sufficiently extensive for the display of his glory.

Already those children of nature, whom European avarice has, for two centuries, been hurrying to annihilation; those savages of the woods, who regarded the name of Washington, as the barrier of their frontier; yes, those men, without doubt, are already assembled, and methinks I hear them say, "Our father, the great warrior of America, has gone down to the tomb; who now shall guarantee to us the possession of our lands? Brethren, let us make an offering to his shade, that it may protect us, and let us transmit his image to our children."

How truly great must be the glory of that virtuous citizen, whose likeness, in every quarter of the globe, graces every dwelling, except, perhaps, the palaces of kings. How truly great must that glory be, which is proclaimed by the savage of the woods in concert with all the civilized nations of the world!

Violators of the sacred laws of humanity, to whom criminal adulation erected trophies and thrones, you, who, after having spread devastation over the earth, dared to call yourselves the masters of it! What are you in comparison with the modest hero, whom impartial truth this day proclaims the defender of the human race? Execrable tyrants, who dwelt in midst of slaves and butchers, and whose existence your people sorrowfully supported, what is become of your glory? The salutary hand of death has suspended the sentiment of fear which bore down your victims, and all the monuments of your power are fallen, with yourselves, into the dust.

When eternal Providence sends great men upon earth for models and avengers, it, at the same time, watches over the safety of innocence, and the protection of its altars. If virtue had not also its defenders and protectors, all the imprecations vented by the unfortunate against divine Providence, would be justified.

In his youth, Washington felt the sublime impulse of love for man and liberty. Heaven had infused into him an abundant portion of that ethereal fire, which raises the soul to the

contemplation of great things. He could not feel all the dignity of his nature without groaning for the degradation of an immense portion of his species. A single institution * brought men under the level of equality; he wished to understand its principles—he wished to become one of its members. His soul expanded with the pure flame of charity; and, I have the pride to believe, that the first step which he made in the temple of truth, had an influence on the fate of this empire; and on the improvements in the systems of other governments, what have been the consequences of it?

A SIMPLE education, by leaving the energy of his soul unimpaired, and his body in full vigor, enabled him to pass his youthful days between the noble employment of cultivating the ground and pursuing the art of war. Notwithstanding, however brilliant the career of his arms might have appeared to him, whatever esteem his bravery and skill in the performance of his duty might have acquired, whatever hopes of advancement the elevated rank which he possessed when but twenty years of age, might have held forth to him, the glory of being only a great warrior, did not appear to him worthy of the sacrifice of his prevailing passion for the innocent charms of agriculture and domestic felicity. He took up arms only for the defence of the soil that gave him birth, and only to prevent its devastation. It was, without doubt, that, then fighting against Frenchmen, he learnt what powerful aid might be derived from that brave and generous nation, for the establishment of liberty, in the new world.

THE unfortunately natural proneness of power towards oppression, had drawn on the American colonies all the abuse which accompany pride and authority. The yoke become insupportable, called forth a spirit of resistance. The mother country committed to the decision of the sword, the issue of a quarrel, which justice and reason might have settled without the effusion of human blood. Rarely does power suffer weakness to express the sense of its innocence. It was, therefore, thought proper to threaten with chains, or menace with death,

* *Masonry.*

a people who boasted of Washington for their friend and defender; and war commenced with fury between men, whom a conformity of language and manners, it seemed, ought to have united by indissoluble ties.

When the mother country threw her armies on the shores of America, to support her pretensions, all eyes, all hearts, were turned towards the peaceable farmer of Mount-Vernon. He undertook the defence and justification of his country with the devotion and modesty of true heroism. All the friends of glory and liberty flocked to his standard, and the proud aggressors of Bunker's Hill soon found, that, a nation armed by justice and led by a great man, was not the conquest of a day. The haughty presumption of the enemy's generals causing them to forget what pity has a right to expect from a civilized nation, even in a state of war, our hero, with the firmness of a republican soldier, recalled to their minds the principles of honor and humanity, the only alleviation to the severity of the warrior's lot.

All those epithets which scorn invents to excite hatred and contempt against an enemy, lost their original meaning. Their patience in marches, and military manœuvres, their resignation when in want of every thing, and their intrepidity in action, all soon announced that these rebels against arbitrary and tyrannical laws were so many heroes; all soon announced, that the army, like its illustrious leader, was equally inaccessible to fear as to corruption.

The argument which enforces the necessity of oppressing men in order to govern them, is a calumny against the human race, invented by tyranny to palliate its excesses and to justify its crimes. It is the example of superior characters that has the most powerful influence over the morality of nations. Washington supported the perseverance of his soldiers and the hopes of his fellow-citizens, only by the ascendancy of his virtues. His sensibility for the sufferings of others, while his own appeared to have been forgotten, inflamed the ardor of men, of whose labors he was, at once, the director and partaker.

His sacred regard to his engagements was the means of furnishing him resources, which were even withheld from the conquerors for want of confidence. The Canadians provisioning his army, upon the bare guarantee of his name, have rendered immortal homage to the rectitude of his heart.

The enthusiasm which these first successes produced, augmented his hopes, without intoxicating his soul. Boston received him with acclamations of admiration and gratitude; but, the hero, regardless of himself in the midst of the joy which he had inspired, converted, to the profit of his country, the interest which he had excited for himself. In modestly declining the premature laurels which the love of his country decreed him, he nobly gave all the credit to the companions of his arms, and kept in reserve for himself only the treasure of public opinion, by which he has since been enabled twice to save his country.

Hitherto the war was but a simple and lawful defence on the part of America. All the means of reconciliation being vanished, it became necessary to declare the emancipation of a great people, to give them a solid form of government; and, with a vigorous resolution to maintain it, to raise them to a place among the nations of the earth. Whatever might have been the manœuvres of the enemy to prevent this separation, so fatal to the mother country, the independence of the United States was proclaimed and solemnly sworn to be maintained at the head of the armies.

All the combinations of force were rendered abortive by resistance, and the enemies of Washington and liberty conceived, that, to immolate one, would be the only means of destroying the other. The life of the hero who seemed to hold the destinies of America in his hands was to have been destroyed by the assassin's dagger;* but, an ever active Providence watched over him, and the bloody plot answered no other purpose to its

* *Impartial History of the military and political events of the last war, vol.* 1, *page* 184. *Gordon's History of the United States, vol.* 2, *page* 71; *idem, vol.* 3, *fol.* 213.

authors, than to complete the measure of hatred and horror which they had inspired.

Whilst he was thus engaged in braving assassins and combating armies, fortune was preparing for his great soul an opportunity to immortalize itself. His very reverses had discovered to him the secrets of the weakness of his enemies. The difficulty of replacing their men, made the latter desirous of an active war, which might soon decide their fate, and leave no time to the American soldiers for acquiring discipline. The former, by seizing the opportunities for attack constantly offered by European tactics, had become alarmingly enfeebled. Already the capital momently expected to bow to the law of the conqueror; but, Washington, superior to the sense of fear, dared to hope every thing from the justice of his cause and the greatness of his courage. Like another Leonidas, he had the boldness to believe, that with three thousand soldiers of liberty, he could face his numerous enemies. In fact, the imminence of the danger produced such increased ardor and devotion to the cause, that he braved the English, received reinforcements, saved Philadelphia, and crowned the glorious enterprize by reducing 1,500 of the enemy's troops to the humiliating condition of laying down their arms.

Plains of Trenton! your name is as immortal as the hero whom I celebrate. The feeling traveller, will stop, in every age, to contemplate the fields, where victory wove a wreath for valor and justice!

Inhabitants of this peaceful country! your children can never again behold their deliverer; but let it be your delight, to lead them to the field of battle, where Washington saved your independence, and let them water the place of his triumph with tears of gratitude!

The plans of the enemy being disconcerted, it was expected the resources of a great nation, indignant of defeats, would all be displayed. And, indeed, neither money or men were spared to stifle the new-born republic in its cradle. Three armies,

whose progress, all the genius of Washington, and all the bravery of his troops could, with difficulty arrest, threatened it it from distant points. The conquest of the capital was the chief object of their wishes. An army superior in numbers, came for this purpose, to provoke the American army to a general action. Its illustrious chief foresaw all the danger of exposing the safety of a great city to the fate of a battle; but, congress having ordered it, he obeyed as a citizen and fought as a hero. The victory which escaped him at Brandywine, notwithstanding the prodigies of valor exhibited by the American army and the French auxiliary officers, opened to the enemies the road to Philadelphia. This blow, far from damping the ardor of Washington, served only to re-animate it. He continued the mode of warfare most favorable to courage, and contrived to avoid the danger of general actions, by which his country might have lost, in one day, the fruit of three years' sacrifices and battles. The happy advantage of sparing the blood of his fellow-citizens, and wearying his enemy, was the result of his system. Like a profound politician, he saw that in temporizing, he gave to the powers of Europe, always rivals, always at war, always ambitious, time to interest themselves in the fate of people, whose emancipation would deprive the richest, the most active, and most jealous of all nations, of a part of her resources. The event justified his expectations. The French government thought it incumbent on it to aid in humiliating Great-Britain; and, regardless of the consequences which might result to itself, declared for the United States of America, whose independence it acknowledged.

The warriors of France, in crowds, strove for the honor of hastening to engage, under a new hemisphere, the natural enemies of their country. The love of glory and liberty rendered the allied legions invincible; and England soon found herself reduced to the alternative of losing the remainder of her possessions in the new world, or of abandoning her vain and dangerous pretensions over the American republic. However, nothing was left untried by that nation to recover its authorisy. Promises, threats, all were employed: all were of no avail. The

treachery of one republican general was the only triumph gained by corruption over the fidelity of the army; nor did the defection of this officer cost England less than a soldier, for whose fate Europe and America have wept.

Major Andre, a youthful hero, on whom nature and love had been prodigal of their favors, had the weakness to engage in the criminal projects of a traitor. He was deserted by fortune from the very moment that he dared, for the first time, to violate the sacred principles of military honor. His life was doomed to pay the forfeit! But so many virtues, and such uncommon grace, so powerfully plead for the pardon of his fault, that imperious necessity alone could have determined the order for his death. Here the statesman, here the soldier, inflexible in his obedience to the laws, was bound to stifle the emotions of pity and indulgence. The chief of the republican army was bound to confirm the sentence of death on a guilty foe, undaunted by the apprehension of being charged with inhumanity. But after the accomplishment of the painful duty, the compassionate soul of the hero was at liberty to give a loose to all the emotions of sensibility! O Washington! the tears with which thou bathest the decree that sealed his fate, will, in the eyes of pitying posterity, efface a crime, which the love of beauty and love of his country extorted from the virtue of the unfortunate Andre.

The capture of York-town, one of the most decisive actions of the war, put an end to the hopes of the enemies of America.

Washington gave to the French and American army, a proof of his esteem, which its intrepidity and patience in this expedition, justly merited. The French soldiers, ever alive to glory, found in the praise of a hero, amends for all their sufferings. The joy of this solemn fete was completed by the pardon of all the faults of discipline, committed during the campaign; and this day was one of the most satisfactory to the father and friend of soldiers, since he had it in his power to crown it by an act of clemency.

The war drawing near to a close, Washington assembled the officers of the army to exhort them to maintain the example of perseverance which they had unceasingly displayed, and to be on their guard against the perfidious insinuations of the enemies of their independence. This great man so completely inspired the companions of his glory with his own sentiments, that they again renewed their oath to die for their country.

The period when an empire is to be organized, is always a time of trouble and anarchy. All the political ideas being new, and every interest different, each one wishes to reap the benefits of the new establishments. The secret enemies of the new order of things, which it may be intended to establish, taking advantage of this critical moment to introduce a discordancy of opinions, war is the consequence of the division of sentiment, unless a centre is formed which will unite all hearts. Washington, who had wrested America from the fury of oppression, now saved it from its own phrenzy. With his victorious hands, he extinguished the torch of civil war, which was about to envelope his country in flame. No one flattering himself with the expectation of gaining Washington over to his own party, the whole nation became of his; and the calm of confidence succeeded to the tumult of confusion.

The sacrifices made by the federal republic brought on a peace; but so exhausted were its resources, that it found itself utterly unable to perform the promises made to its brave defenders. The army complained to its general of the refusal of the government, and loudly accused it of ingratitude; the soldiers reminded him of their past sufferings and present necessities. The hero, beholding their misery, and convinced of the impossibility of ameliorating their situation, appeased their murmurs by the concern only which he took in their sufferings. Having refused to receive any compensation for himself, he was the most proper person to demand a reward for his companions in arms, But, however great might have been his desire to preserve the affection of his army, he defended the honor of the government against the insinuations and attacks of the discontented. Every thing assumed the calm of his soul: the fear of displeasing him,

seemed to do away all distrust, to unite all sentiments; and the sublime letter with which he concluded his military career, affixed the seal of immortality to the titles of his glory.

Affecting scenes were now preparing for the heart of Washington. He was about to leave that army, which six years of fidelity and attachment, had so much endeared to him. He appeared a Germanicus receiving the adieux of the Roman legions. Every eye was suffused with tears, every heart was oppressed with grief, and a croud of heroes pressed around the great man, each one eager to catch and preserve these affecting words: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I take leave of you, with an ardent prayer that the evening of your days may be as happy and prosperous as their morning has been glorious and honorable." The silence of grief was the eloquent reply of the army. The friend of the people, perceiving, after he had left the shore, all eyes directed towards him, respectfully saluted this family of brothers and friends, whose every heart was with him; and, with difficulty, he suppressed the painful emotions of his soul.

His journey afterwards was a triumphal procession. Testimonials of gratitude and veneration every where followed him. The hero, apparently unconscious of the immortal honors with which his brows were encircled, in a public manner, ascribed his successes to the influence of heaven, to the courage of his fellow-citizens and the justice of their cause. Then, bowing before the august depositaries of the law, he returned into their hands that victorious sword, which he held by their authority, thanked them for their confidence in him, rendered an account, with his own hand, of the public money which had been expended by him during the war, expressed his wishes for the prosperity of his country, recommended to her her protectors, and solicited only the favor of being permitted to pass the remainder of his life in the peaceful shades of retirement, in the bosom of his family, and near to the tombs of his ancestors.

His arrival at the delightful spot which contained all the objects of his affections, was a moment of ecstacy, which his soul

could scarcely support. The transports of an adored wife, who, for six whole years, had no other consolation than her tears and the glory of her husband; and, who again beheld him crowned with the blessings of the whole world; his eager neighbors and faithful domestics, bathing with their tears the hands that saved his country! What a scene! How powerful and how exquisite must have been the sensations of his soul, ere he could find words to express himself! O! Washington! how grateful shouldst thou be to heaven for having preserved the simplicity of thy heart, and enabled thee to say, in every period of thy life, with the Theban general, "I wish not to forget how they live at home." How pure must have been thy joy, since thou thyself felt the happiness with which thou hadst inspired others.

Domestic tranquillity and the delightful harmony of nature, so grateful to strong and feeling minds, had hardly begun to afford him a taste of their charms, than the voice of his country again called him to the theatre of civil life. He alone could give that vigor to the laws, which a confidence in the chief magistrate of a country inspires. He saw the necessity of the sacrifice; and, always devoted, always faithful to his duty, he hastened to assume the reins of a government, which, in part, owed its formation to him; and which was to receive its first lustre from the wisdom of his administration. The joy of the people on again beholding the man of their choice, can only be compared to the modesty of their benefactor. The whole of his route was lined with an immense concourse of people, assembled from far and near.—Their joy was expressed by songs and tears; innocence and beauty strewed flowers in the path of the hero of liberty, and the gratitude of wives and mothers was inscribed by the hand of chastity on triumphal arches.

I have seen the pompous entry of sovereigns. I have seen the noisy acclamations of the people rewarded by throwing to them, with disdain, a contemptable portion of the riches torn from their industry by the prodigality of kings. Under cars, glittering with gold and purple, I have seen misery and wretchedness disputing, at the risk of life, for what could afford them

but the relief of a day, and tears of humiliation and pity have rolled down my cheeks.

I HAVE seen Washington, a second time, accept the most elevated of stations. Grateful, and with respect, before the source of all lawful authority, before this same class of citizens, which, in other places, I have seen cringing like slaves; him, I saw, adorned with laurels and his virtues, assume, with a noble pride, the title of first servant of the people, and my soul rising to the sublimity of his, I have felt that I could never again belong to masters, after having been for a moment the equal of an hero.

UNDER the first presidency of Washington, the happiness of his constituents was complete. Under the second, he could not avert all the dangers with which the peace of his country was threatened; but he averted war, the greatest of evils.

ALL Europe was in arms. France, the object of the jealousy of all nations, was also become the object of their hatred. The success of her invincible armies, and her revolutionary principles appearing dangerous to the safety of crowned heads, almost all of them appealed to the sword for the maintenance of their authority. The government of the United States solicited to become a party, conceived itself not bound in duty, either to espouse the cause of kings, or to declare for an invincible people, who braved with success a powerful coalition, and whose rulers were, at that time, cutting each others throats, at the altar of their country.

WASHINGTON, therefore, declared the neutrality of United America; and, opening to this nation, by this act of firmness, all the sources of industry, from which a people in a state of war are debarred, he prepared it to profit by the errors of Europe.

THUS America became the asylum of all the unfortunate, whom severe measures of policy, persecution or misery, had driven from their country. All here found the same succor, the same protection; for the laws being founded in justice and li-

berty, no fear existed either of the progress of reason, or the influence of prejudice.

To us, Frenchmen, who have been so kindly received on these peaceful shores, it belongs to pay distinguished respect to the wisdom of the hero whom we deplore; we, whom cruel fate has torn from our homes, without suffering us to carry away any thing but our tears and our innocence, to interest the pity of mankind, should ever hold him in grateful remembrance. What would have become of that croud of wretched old men, children and defenceless citizens, whom the daggers of assassins had driven from their blazing habitations, if an inimical policy had repulsed us from this hospitable land? My countrymen, let us never forget to teach our children to bless the memory of the protector of their early days: let us never forget to tell them, that, but for him, perhaps, the wide ocean had been their tomb.

Whilst Europe, inundated with blood, endeavored to force the neutral powers to swell the number of destroyers and victims, United America, enjoying peace, wished to have nothing to fear from European policy, and the raising of an army appeared the surest mean to secure it against all foreign menace and influence. The name, alone, of Washington, ought to have convinced the belligerent powers of the injustice of their attempts on a nation whose defence he had undertaken. This great man imposed no other conditions to his obedience than those of Cincinnatus to the Roman senate—the liberty of retiring to his fields, when the country should be placed in a state of security.

It was in the midst of this career, that death snatched him from the love and gratitude of the world.

Heaven and nature have taken back their gift in all the perfection of his being, that he might carry to the tomb, a glory unsullied by any human weakness. Serene in mind, above fear, all human obligations paid, at peace with God, his exalted soul

is gone to enjoy in heaven the blessings which it receives from mortals.

O! WASHINGTON, if in the abode of thy glory thou art accessible to the sighs and lamentations of men, pardon their grief, should it intrude for a moment on thy supreme felicity! Thou canst not yet tear thyself from our love; our sorrows will pursue thee even to the bosom of the divinity.—Each day will we do homage to eternal mercy in immortalizing thy memory—each day will we importune it, in imploring the restoration of it!

Shade of WASHINGTON, rest in peace!

SOVEREIGN arbiter of worlds, supreme and inexhaustible source of all good! accept our thanks! Thou hast bestowed on the world a model of all human perfection, to re-animate the germs of virtue implanted in our bosoms! Deign, O great architect of the universe, to inspire the rulers of nations with a sense of thy ineffable goodness! Stay, with thine Almighty arm, the blood and tears, with which pride and ambition are drenching the earth! Grant, O my God! that the desire of glory may be kindled in the souls of heroes, only by the love of justice and humanity!

[*After the orator had ceased to speak, the worshipful master arose, and delivered in English the following respectful address to the grand master, and other grand officers and American visitors; and concluded the ceremonies of the day with a polite address, in French, to the ladies.*]

R. W. grand master; W. grand officers of the grand lodge of Pennsylvania.

American brethren,

HOWEVER true may be the satisfaction we feel every time you honor this lodge with your presence, we cannot but lament the occasion of your visit on this day. If the loss we all bewail, was but a common loss; if the grief it occasions was confined to American hearts, I might perhaps have attempted to alleviate it; but what comfort could you expect to

receive from those who want comfort as much as you! How can I presume to dry up the tears you shed upon the tomb of your illustrious countryman, when his eminent virtues have made him the man of all nations, the idol of all hearts. Yes, brethren, however proud America may feel of having produced such a hero, it is long since she lost her exclusive claim to his glory; it is long since he became the ornament of mankind, and the citizen of the world. Permit me, however, to tell you, that to no nation on earth, after his own, was he so dear as to France; there the fame of his immortal actions filled every heart with pride and admiration; there, his only name had the talismanic power of ennobling the soul, and raising it to sublime things. Such was, brethren, the opinion entertained of our illustrious brother, at the time I left my native country. I trust these noble sentiments have not degenerated, and sincerely hope, that the ceremony you witness to-day in this lodge, will find imitators in our sister lodges of France; there, also, a just tribute will be paid to the memory of our hero; there, also, the most feeling part of the creation will blend their tears with those of masons, and exhibit the affecting scene of beauty weeping upon the trophies of glory and virtue.

My amiable sisters,

In inviting you, this day, to become partners in our sorrows and our tears, we have only done homage to a dictate of nature, and acknowledged a right, your title to which she herself is proud to guarantee. Grief is the offspring and attendant of sensibility, and beauty claims the privilege of preparing garlands for the tombs of her heroes. It is for her smiles they make suit during the career of their lives; it is her tears they solicit when they descend in their splendor, to the night of the grave. Perhaps no mortal ever boasted a fairer title to this glorious tribute, than he whose recent loss inflicts a wound on every heart! The tablature of his resplendent virtues has been just pourtrayed to us by the hand of genius; truth vouchsafed to guide the pencil; sentiment furnished her magic colouring, and your tears are sufficient evidence how irresistible was the effect!

Had not grief the deplorable power of swallowing up every other sentiment, I would declare to you what delight and glory I derive from presiding in the lodge l'Aménité, on an occasion when you assemble to adorn its important labors. In lamenting with you, that it should be this same sentiment of grief which has introduced beauty to the temple of wisdom, I am, notwithstanding, bound to congratulate you on such a fortunate occurrence, an occurrence of which the value should be deemed proportionate to the rarity. The unusual splendor with which your presence gilds the ceremonies of the day, the brilliancy of sentiment with which you inspire our souls, the noble dignity of woe which your deportment has manifested, should all conspire to swell our regret that the inflexible laws of masonry excludes you from a knowledge of her mysteries. But however rigid you may deem those laws, beware of suspecting them of caprice or injustice. Reject the opinion of an ignorant populace, who hold this exclusion injurious to that lovely sex which constitutes its object. Banish the idea, which would mortify us by shading with suspicion the sublime opinion we entertain of your virtues. Be assured, that, in thus retiring from your view, we distrust ourselves rather than you. Be assured, that far from undervaluing the gifts with which nature has so bounteously favored us, we dread the dominion which they never fail to exercise over our hearts. Finally, be assured that beauty is excluded from the temple of wisdom, only from an apprehension that the torch of love might obscure, by its brilliancy, the sweet but feeble lustre of truth.

But, though strangers to the mysteries which reign in this place, you do not fail, my dear sisters, to co-operate in the grand work which we have undertaken. It is in the bosom of your domestic virtues, that we prepare the precious elements of a course of labor devoted to wisdom; it is you, who in conferring on us the sacred title of parent, open to our hearts all the treasures of tender sensibility, and render them capable of those emotions which beneficence and humanity have so often applauded in this place; it is you whose mild resignation gives calmness to those turbulent spirits ever prone to be restless under the pressure of adversity; it is you who sweeten the bitter

cup of a long and painful exile ; it is you who render tolerable an existence remote from our country ; it is you who spreading a veil over the retrospect of opulence for ever lost, embellish, with your charms, even the dwellings of indigence ; finally, it is you who give us to know, that real misery is an empty sound, when the conscience is a stranger to the pangs of remorse. Accept the tribute of gratitude, which we tender for so many favors received at your hands ! Accept the tribute of our homage, for all the virtues with which you inspire us !—Persevere in the glorious task which Providence in his wise dispensation has assigned you. Implant in our children those sentiments with which your own spotless bosoms are inspired. Render them worthy of being one day consecrated on the altar which we have here erected to wisdom. Teach them to mingle their prayers with ours for our final restoration to the bosom of our country. In a word, continue to be what you are, and you may then flatter yourselves of being able to co-operate in the labor which wisdom has enveloped in the shadows of mystery.

VISITANTS from every kindred lodge who this day honor us with your presence, accept, in this form profane, such thanks and acknowledgments as are your due. If the lodges which are so fortunate as to be the dispensers of light to you, feel any interest in our labors, give them to know, that you have seen the French lodge l'Aménitè prodigal of her tears over the tomb of Washington.

Funeral eulogy, occasioned by the death of general WASHINGTON. *Delivered before the New-York State Society of the Cincinnati. By* WILLIAM LINN, D. D.

THIS solemn assembly and these sable ensigns proclaim no common grief. Already has every American wept ; already have the sad funereal processions moved ; and already

have the virtues and the services of Washington been celebrated from the pulpit, and from the rostrum.

Why are we again assembled? and why is the tomb uncovered? It is that we may all take another look. This is the birth-day of the beloved man. Was there no other which could have been chosen than that on which we have so frequently rejoiced? It is kindly intended to give indulgence to our sorrow, to teach us that no character is exempt from the stroke of death, and especially to induce our submission to the will, and our adoration of that Almighty Being who "gave and who hath taken away."

We find from the earliest records of time, that the practice has been usual in all ages and in all nations, of honoring those who were distinguished by their excellence, and were esteemed public blessings. Trophies have been decreed to them while living, and at their decease their bodies have been sometimes embalmed; monuments, elegies and funeral orations have perpetuated the memory of their honorable deeds.

This has a happy tendency to ensure a noble and virtuous conduct, and to excite the imitation of others. The love of fame, when subordinate to the general good of mankind, is inseparable from him who is truly great; and he carries his views beyond the grave to the reward which posterity shall bestow. Were there then no other reason for praising the illustrious dead, this would be sufficient.

But there is an obligation of still higher moment. Eminent men are qualified for their work by God. They are his servants. In honoring them, we honor Him. It is true that the heathen glorified not God, but substituted creatures in his room; and there is danger that even we, with the clearest revelation, may be guilty of idolatry in not lifting up our hearts to Him from whom "cometh down every good gift, and every perfect gift." Let us ascribe the glory to God, and we may safely extol the man whose loss this day we deplore.

America claims as her own, one who was justly the admiration of the world. And shall she be silent in his praise? Perhaps silence would have best expressed the merits of him who is beyond all eulogy. The language of mortals can with difficulty, if ever, reach so noble a theme. The name is above what Grecian or Roman story presents, and it would require more than Grecian or Roman eloquence to do it justice. One advantage indeed it possesses, that hardly any thing can be said which will be thought extravagant; and what would, in other cases, be deemed flattery, will sink far below the conceptions of the public mind. Flattery was ever confounded in the presence of Washington, nor will it dare to approach his ashes. That humility, however, which was the constant ornament of his virtues, should not now obstruct the offerings of a feeling and grateful people at his shrine. Nay, they rush with greater eagerness to testify their sense of his transcendent and inestimable worth.

To the historian it belongs to relate in full, the birth, the education, the early and the later atchievements of George Washington. From the historic page we expect a minute description of his civil and military, of his public and private life. Though a simple recital of these might be the highest encomium, and it might be said,

"*Rais'd of themselves, their genuine charms they boast,*
"*And those who paint them truest, praise them most;*" *

yet they would lead the speaker into too large a field; he would not know what to select, and what to refuse, where all powerfully solicited his regard. Let history or biography, at present, serve only to develope and illustrate the character.

When God in his adorable providence intends to accomplish some glorious work upon earth, he provides and prepares his instruments among the children of men. Who does not see that Moses, by the manner in which he was preserved, the instruction which he received, and the habits of life to which he was inured, was fitted to lead the people of Israel? Who, that Cy-

* *Addison's Campaign.*

rus, had we not been expressly informed, was "girded by the Lord?" The intention is frequently hidden from the persons themselves, and may not be obvious to others; though they will sometimes discern presages of future greatness. Washington was endued from his youth with a military spirit. When a stripling, like David, he encountered the enemies of his country. His first destination was to enter as a midshipman in a British vessel of war. This was happily prevented, that so, instead of the admiral, he might become the general. He gave such early and uncommon indications of heroism as occasioned public mention of him by an eminent divine, in a discourse delivered soon after Braddock's defeat.* The subject was *religion and patriotism*. "As a remarkable instance," said he, "I may point out to the public that heroic youth colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country." We will not call these words prophetic, but they have been repeatedly quoted as a testimony of the budding honors of the American hero.

God prepared his servant, and in due time opened to him a vast scene, on which all his talents had their utmost exertion, and expanded in full display. It having become necessary for America to oppose by force the unjust pretensions of Britain, he was elected a member of the great council, and soon after unanimously appointed commander in chief of the armies. This honor his modesty forbade him to seek, and his love of country would not allow him to refuse. The choice was directed by heaven. "I feel great distress," said he on his acceptance of the command, "from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: however, as the congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause." Modesty ever accompanies great merit; and diffidence of abilities, when it

* *The Rev. Samuel Davies then settled in Virginia, and afterwards president of the college of New-Jersey.*

casts not into despondency, excites vigilance, and rouses energies of soul concealed from the possessor himself.

General Washington had not seen much military service, and what he had seen was on a small scale. His army for a long time was undisciplined, and continually changing by temporary enlistments, or impatient militia; and sometimes he had scarcely the shadow of an army. He was destitute of the necessaries for their support, and of the instruments of war. He was called to create before he could command. In this situation he had to oppose the numerous and formidable legions of Britain, amply supplied with all the apparatus of death, and led on by the most renowned generals. The hero of Monongahela and the planter of Potowmac, nobly enters the list; snatches the laurels which had been gathered in Europe to adorn his own brow.

To estimate properly the merits of a general, we must attentively consider the circumstances in which he is placed, and the means in his power. The American leader was never at the head of such armies as cover the fields of Europe. No; with a naked and distressed handful, he kept the enemy in terror; imposed on them by a parade of numbers and strength; now sought security in retreat; and now dared the fight; "swifter than an eagle and stronger than a lion." He who thus baffled the acknowledged skill and bravery of Britons, would, furnished with the means of war, march to the remotest ends of the earth.

We are willing to listen to the highest strains in favor of British valor, because these redound to the honor of our chief. Every wreath which is woven, is transferred to him. Either our invaders would not, or they could not subdue us. If they would not, then they were unfaithful to their trust; if they could not, then the barrier was the American arms. Will any rather chuse to compromise the matter, by resolving the independence of America into the decree of heaven? Great God, we adore thy just decree! To thee was the appeal made! Thou didst fight for us! In transport we cry, "The sword of the Lord, and of Gideon."

Permit me to say that he whose obsequies we perform, had advantages which few enjoy. The cause in which he engaged was of the most exalted kind, and he was deeply penetrated with its justice and importance. He undertook not from motives of ambition or gain, but from the pure love of country, to which he continually sacrificed his ease, his safety and his life.

His attention to the duties of his station was incessant. In the field no opportunity escaped him to harrass or attack the enemy; and he was never found unapprehensive of their designs, or unprepared to meet them. In winter quarters he revolved and digested the operations of the next campaign. He was not seen indulging in the amusements of a theatre, dissipating his time at a gaming table, or reclining on the lap of a Delilah. His bed at camp was often hard. He often laid down in his daily dress.* His horse stood equipped near him. Or, he sat in council. Or, he examined the vigilance of his posts. Or, he penned the dispatch. The concerns of America wholly occupied his mind. Americans, you may well love him, for he saved you much blood and treasure. He watched for your safety while you slept.

His patience and perseverance were unexampled. To be obliged to retreat is at all times humiliating to a general, and dangerous to his fame. To him solely is calamity imputed. Though in conducting a retreat, the greatest skill is often displayed; yet this and the necessity are not generally known; and a people animated with the love of liberty, are apt to be suspicious. Here was the great trial of Washington, and here a principal trait in his military character. He retreated from Long-Island in the face of a far superior foe. He retreated from New-York island in the face of total ruin. And he carried the small and dejected remains of his army; one while presenting a feeble front to the enemy, and another while retreat-

* *The night after the battle of Monmouth, he "reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day." Ramsay's History.*

ing, until he crossed the Delaware. No hope was left but in the presence of Washington. It pleased God that he still lived; and he was, perhaps, the only man who did not despair. If he had tumultuous passions, if fame was dearer to him than his life, what a conflict was here! What a victory over himself! Whisperings and murmurings, imputations of unskilfulness, of cowardice; and, it may be, of unfaithfulness, were infinitely harder to bear, than to fight. These required a fortitude superior to what was necessary to meet death in any shape. To endure these shewed real greatness. Saul the first king of Israel, after his defeat at Mount Gilboa, slew himself with his own sword; but Saul fell below Washington in every thing, except the towering size of his person. *

The American chief, having collected a little strength, braving the wintry waves and skies, recrosses the Delaware; and, like an angry lion, chased by the huntsmen, springs upon the foe, and those who flee not perish by his stroke. A far-famed hero marches at the head of numerous and veteran troops, but arriving near night, waits only the next dawn to revenge the havoc. Let us be thankful that the American army was at this time so weak; for had there been any thing like an equality to the enemy, or the most distant prospect of success, the morning sun had shone upon fields of carnage and blood. Washington directing fires to be kindled in the night, and to be kept constantly burning, led his army by a circuitous road; and his cannon at Princeton first awakened the drowsy Britons whom

* *Saul "was higher than any of the people, from his shoulders and upward." Washington was full six feet and half an inch in stature. The historians and orators have generally mentioned his personal appearance. "His personal appearance is noble and engaging." Gordon's History. "His person was considerably above the middle size, but of a dignified and graceful form." Strong's Discourse. "His form was noble—his port majestic." Morris's oration. "Mountain air, abundant exercise in the open country—the wholesome toils of the chase, and the delightful scenes of rural life, expanded his limbs to an unusual but graceful and well proportioned size." Ramsay's History.*

he had left. The frozen clod was stained on the march with blood from the naked feet of his men.* There was obtained another, though a dear bought victory. There Hazelet and Mercer fell, two thunderbolts of war. Mercer! Let me lift the mantle from thy mangled body!—Covered with wounds like Cæsar in the senate-house!—Alas, not Cæsar now, but Brutus fell!

We find in general Washington a mind capable of planning and executing great enterprizes. "The world," says an historian, "has been mistaken in one opinion respecting his excellency, whose natural temper possesses more of the Marcellus, and less of the Fabius, than has been generally imagined." † We are assured that he meditated designs which the resources of the country would not admit of being carried into effect; and whenever his force promised the least impression, we see him either boldly receiving the enemy, or advancing to attack them. Witness the battles of Brandywine, of Germantown and of Monmouth. In these places, as well as at Haerlem and Princeton, he exposed himself to the thickest dangers, and courted a glorious death. A swell of passions had nearly burst his manly breast. He saw victory, but had not the means to obtain it; he had victory, and it was suddenly snatched from his grasp. ‡

* *Dr. Ramsay in his history mentions the same circumstance as happening on another occasion.* "*The American army*," *says he*, "*might have been tracked by the blood of their feet, in marching without shoes or stockings over the hard frozen ground between Whitemarsh and Valley-forge.*"

† *Gordon.*

‡ *When the enemy landed upon New-York island, the Americans fled before an inferior force. General Washington rode up and attempted, in vain, to rally them. This* "*raised a tempest in his usually tranquil mind. He hazarded his person for some considerable time in rear of his own men, and in front of the enemy. His aids and the confidential friends around his person, by indirect violence, compelled him to retire. At Princeton, when the centre of the Americans, being briskly charged, gave way,*

At length God interposed for his relief, and enabled him to contend upon equal terms. Assisted by a fleet and some brave legions from France, he plans the capture of York-town in Virginia, marches thither the allied army, and by one bold and decisive effort accomplishes the deliverance of his country. The British hero, who had marked him as an easy prey at Trenton, finds now his numbers, his skill and his bravery unavailing; he capitulates at the cannon's mouth, and lays all his trophies at the feet of Washington. How applicable to our hero are these lines—

> "*So when an angel by divine command*
> "*With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,*
> "*Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,*
> "*Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;*
> "*And pleas'd, the Almighty's orders to perform,*
> "*Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.*" *

As general Washington, like Cincinnatus, left his retirement and the pursuits of agriculture, merely for the service of his country, so when his work was finished, he returned with the most heart-felt satisfaction. He reckoned himself overpaid for all his labors and hardships. How sweet this abode of rest and peace after the toil and din of arms! How far superior his fame to that of Alexander or Cæsar! They fought for the sake of conquest, and to enslave mankind; he, in defence of their just rights, and to make them happy. They for personal aggrandizement; he, for the best good of others. Cæsar usurped the supreme dominion of the state; Washington returned to the station of a private citizen. Hear his words at the resignation of his commission to congress: "I consider it as an indispensible duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protec-

be placed himself between his own men and the British, with his horses head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a stand and returned the British fire. The general, though between both parties, was providentially uninjured by either." Ramsay's History.

* *Addison's Campaign.*

tion of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendance of them to his holy keeping.

"HAVING now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life." So he wished and naturally thought, but he had not yet finished all the work which God had assigned him. In entering again upon public life, he is influenced by the same modesty and disinterested motives. He does not thrust himself forward to view, but submits to the claim, and obeys the loud call of his fellow-citizens. He declines, as formerly, any compensation for his services. In this way he evinces true patriotism, disarms envy, and enhances universal esteem.

WHEN he retired from the command of the army, every one supposed that he had attained to the pinnacle of greatness, and would recline in safety the remainder of his days beneath a shade of laurels at Mount-Vernon; but we behold him renouncing his retirement, and putting all his fame at risk. This was, perhaps, the most magnanimous action of his life, and eclipsed even his military lustre. By first assisting in framing a government, the blessings of which we now enjoy, and then giving stability and energy to that government, by accepting the office of chief magistrate at two different times, he secured to his country all the consequences expected from the revolution. No man can conceive the magnanimity of this conduct, but he who approaches in some measure to the greatness of Washington.

DURING the time which elapsed between his first military exploits and the revolutionary war, he had been attentive to the science of government and employed in affairs of state. The business therefore was not altogether new to him. He had besides the most excellent judgment, the most consummate prudence, and knew better than any man how to make the information and experience of others his own. He comprehended,

he separated, he combined, he weighed, he decided, and his decision was ever wise and unshaken.

The question will be agitated by posterity, Whether he was the greater general or statesman? Those who read his official letters, his addresses when he retired from the army, and from the presidency; and who are intimately acquainted with his administration, will be inclined to pronounce in favor of the latter. Those who have not duly considered these, and more narrowly survey his difficulties and success in war, will be inclined to pronounce in favor of the former. The controversy can be settled only by admitting that he was "first in war, and first in peace."

Under his administration the offices of government were filled by the first talents which could be found; or the best which the economy of the government could command; and, let it not be deemed too bold, by some of the greatest talents in the world. Under his administration America was prosperous and happy. It was impossible that the expectations of all could be gratified, and the opinions of all followed. The season was peculiarly tempestuous, and the rocks many and dangerous. The pilot was wise and firm, having always in view, as his pole-star, the public good. When we consider the information which is necessary to judge of public measures, the clashing of the interests of men, and the fatal influence of prejudice and passion on their minds, we are astonished at his unspotted fame.

How modest and beautiful are his words in that precious legacy which he left us at his resignation. See appendix, p. 33.

Who, on hearing these words, is not tempted to exclaim—Washington, live for ever!—His fame, indeed, is immortal. Posterity will see, with rapture, sculptured on his tomb, wisdom, liberty and justice.

Another time he retires with the benediction of millions. Eight years he wielded the sword—eight years he held the reins of government. The stormy sea was passed, and he resigns the

helm to other hands. If desire always prompted, increasing age seemed to render it necessary that he should seek repose. Or, was it that he might enforce, by his example, the virtues and duties of a private life? That he might teach us industry, temperance, charity and economy? To be affectionate husbands and tender masters? That on the faithful performance each one of his several relations, depends personal and public happiness?—Whom do we see in yonder fields near the waters of the Potowmac, surrounded by a group of laborers? It is the late illustrious commander of the armies, and the late chief magistrate of the United States. How august the spectacle! Citizens of America, venerate the sickle and the plough, for they have been dignified not only by the heroes and patriarchs of old, but by the father of your country!

Though naturally reserved, yet he was not haughty. Though those who approached him felt his superiority, yet he did not assume. He blended dignity and condescension. The greatest and the smallest objects received from him a due attention. He never betrayed any symptoms of vain glory. When he was once asked, whether he had ever said, as was reported, "that he knew no music so pleasing as the whistling of bullets," he answered, "If I said so, it was when I was young." * Learning to estimate justly all human glory, and matured by experience; accustomed to lofty conceptions, and moving always in the important spheres of life; impressed with a sense that he derived all from God, and that all should be devoted to his service; his deportment was noble, equally removed from the supercilious and the vain. Some men have been great at one time, and despicable at another; some men have performed a single great action, and never rose to the like again; but to him great actions seemed common. Some men have appeared great at the head of armies, or when surrounded by the trappings of power, and little when stripped of these, and alone; some men have withstood the storms of adversity, and been melted by the sunshine of prosperity; some men have possessed splendid public talents, and disgraced these by sordid private vices; but it is

* *Gordon's History.*

difficult to determine when and where Washington shone the brightest. It can only be said, that he was *uniformly* great.

One part of his character remains to be mentioned, and which crowns the whole; that is, his reverence for the Sabbath, his acknowledgment of a Providence, and his attendance upon the institutions of religion. In all his public documents God is honored; after deliverances or victories, thanksgivings were by his order offered; and it is well known that he invariably attended divine worship. The foolish and wicked cant of exalting human reason, and ascribing all to fortune, received from him no countenance. Neither in the parade of military life, nor in the cares of civil administration; neither in a state of depression, nor amidst the intoxicating sweets of power and adulation, did he forget to pay homage to "the Most High, who doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth." It is not wholly improbable that the fate of the unhappy Braddock, who, it is said, expressed himself in a boasting and profane manner, left on the mind of young Washington an indelible impression. "Thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches: But let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving kindness, judgment and righteousness, in the earth." *

Hear the testimony which Washington bore for religion on his resignation of the chief magistracy. See appendix, p. 27.

Incomparable man! He devoted his time, his talents and his labors to our service; and he hath left his advice and his example to us, and to all generations!

There was in him that assemblage of qualities which constitutes real greatness; and these qualities were remarkably adapted to the conspicuous part which he was called to perform. He was not tinsel, but gold; not a pebble, but a diamond; not a meteor, but a sun. Were he compared with the sages and

* *Jer.* ix. 23, 24.

the heroes of antiquity, he would gain by the comparison; or, rather, he would be found to be free from the blemishes, and to unite the excellencies of them all. Like Fabius he was prudent; like Hannibal he was unappalled by difficulties; like Cyrus he conciliated affection; like Cimon he was frugal; like Scipio he was chaste; Like Philopemen he was humble; and like Pompey he was successful. If we compare him with characters in the sacred records, he combined the exploits of Moses and Joshua, not only by conducting us safely across the Red Sea and through the wilderness, but by bringing us into the promised land. Like David he conquered an insulting Goliah, and rose to the highest honors from an humble station; like Hezekiah he ruled; and like Josiah at his death, there is a mourning "as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon." Nor is the mourning confined to us, but extends to all the wise and the good who ever heard of his name. The generals whom he opposed will wrap their hilts in black, and stern Cornwallis drop a tear.

He was honored even in death. After all his fatigues, and though he had arrived near to the limit fixed for human life,* yet his understanding was not impaired, nor his frame wasted by any lingering disease. We did not hear of his sickness, until we heard that he was no more. His acceptance of the office of lieutenant-general of the armies is a proof that "Save my country, heaven," was his last. What would have been to most men the meridian of glory, was the setting sun of Washington. With an increased orb, its parting rays paint the clouds with brightest colours, and illumine all the mountain tops.—In the full possession of his reason, and without fear of death, which he had often faced in the field, he breathed his mighty soul into the hands of his almighty and merciful creator.

Hark!—A message from the tomb!—

"*Citizens of America*,

"You are assembled to express your gratitude for services which you believe to have been rendered by me, and to testify

* *He was born Feb. 22d, 1732; accepted the command of the American army, June 16th, 1775, in the 44th year of his age; and died Dec. 14th, 1799, in the 68th year of his age.*

your sorrow for my death. Next to the testimony of a good conscience, it was ever the summit of my wishes to deserve well of my country. But, let your gratitude ascend to Him who fashioned me as I was, who kept me under his holy protection, and who hath, in his sovereign will, recalled me from the earth. My career was much longer than might have been expected. It was anxious; it was laborious; it was wearisome—I now rest.

"Let the love you bore me, the confidence you were pleased always to repose in me, and the regard you now profess for my memory, be shewn in following those admonitions which I have given you, and which I endeavored to enforce by my own example. Banish party interest and party spirit. Suffer no foreign influence to affect your councils. Give support and stability to your government. Honor and reward your public officers. Pay the strictest attention to the injunctions of religion and morality. Then, under the propitious smiles of heaven, you will long be a flourishing and happy people."

Thus, methinks, our deceased father addresses us this day.

In the eighteenth century have flourished a number of the most eminent philosophers, historians, orators, poets, patriots, and statesmen; the close of it has been eventful and astonishing beyond all precedent. In the end of the fifteenth century, Columbus discovered this new world; in the end of the eighteenth, Washington arose to give Columbia independence and rank among the nations. To the lustre of so many names, and to a period of such wonderful events, he joins his blaze. Memorable æra! The age of great men, the age of extraordinary revolutions, the age of Washington!

He outlived many of his compatriots. Warren fell an early martyr. Hardy Putman, brave Stirling, active Sullivan, patriotic M'Dougall, incorruptible Reed, * Wayne, chief of Stony-

* *This gentleman, when a large bribe was indirectly offered him, answered, "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am the king of Great-Britain is not rich enough to do it." Ramsay's and Gordon's Histories.*

Point, Thomas, Nash, Wooster, Spencer, Thompson, Cadwallader, Mifflin, have all bowed to death. Undaunted Smallwood and Morgan, Butler surprised by a savage foe and brave in death; Steuben bred in European camps, skilled in military discipline, an adopted and favorite son, born alike to form the battle's dread array, and grace the festive board; De Kalb, Pulaski, Scammel, Armstrong, Parsons, Gist, Poor, Maxwell, Williams, Glover, Herkimer, Stark, Varnum, Woodford——"How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!" *—— Montgomery's career was short but glorious. On Abraham's plains he found with Wolfe a deathless fame. Greene the great compeer and friend of Washington survived the war, but lived not to enjoy its fruits under a well-balanced government. He too sought the shade, and cultivated the arts of peace, after

* *This enumeration is not pretended to be complete; and it was impossible to give every one his due praise. Only general officers are mentioned, of whom nine were slain in the field. Those who contributed to the revolution by their councils are omitted; of whom there is a long and venerable list. Praise to living characters is purposely avoided. Death will stamp their value, and posterity duly estimate their merits.*

In this list, it would be needless to say to those who knew him, that Armstrong combined, in a high degree, the great and amiable qualities. His age, and other circumstances, prevented his taking a large and conspicuous part in the American war; but he had the confidence of Washington; and, like him, gave proofs of a military spirit at an early period. He conducted the expedition against the Kittaning, an Indian town, and was highly honored by the proprietaries of Pennsylvania for his gallant behavior. On this occasion he and Mercer were both wounded. He had a principal share either in advising or directing all the subsequent expeditions. He commanded the Pennsylvania militia at the battle of Germantown; and it is a fact not generally known, that the fort on Sullivan's island, S. C. would have been evacuated as indefensible had it not been for him and the brave Col. Moultrie. His chief glory, however, was that he "fought the good fight of faith," and is gone with the famous Col. Gardiner, whom he greatly resembled, to receive an immortal crown.

obtaining a fame everlasting as the high hills of Santee, and pure as the Eutaw springs.

" *In hours of peace content to be unknown,*
" *And only in the field of battle shewn:*
" *To souls like these in mutual friendship join'd,*
" *Heav'n dares entrust the cause of human kind.*" *

Why should I mention others? Or why have I mentioned these? Our griefs are all absorbed in thee, O Washington!—There is not such another to die. Few such have ever existed in any age. The world lessened when he died.

" *Death, ere thou hast kill'd another*
" *Wise and great, and good as he,*
" *Time shall throw a dart at thee.*" †

Ye Cincinnati, his companions in arms, and sharers in his glory, what scenes does this day bring to your remembrance! In imagination you suffer all the toils, and fight the battles over again. Before you moves the majestic and graceful man; graceful when he steps, more graceful when he mounts the prancing steed. Serene at all times, most serene in misfortunes and danger. The cares of America appear on his brow, and he wears her defence by his side. Ah! had he been captured by the enemy, your gleamy swords would have been drawn for his rescue. Or, had he been exposed in the front of battle, you would have shielded him with your own bodies; and had he fallen, a thousand victims had avenged his death. Against *natural* death you could interpose no shield——Seek not to restrain your tears. 'Tis soldier-like now to weep—True courage and sensibility are intimately connected—Your general, your father, and your friend—is—no more——The last time he and his band of brothers were all together, you followed him with pensive countenances to the banks of the Hudson, and on his entering the barge he turned towards you, and by waving his hat, bade you a silent adieu. He now bids you an adieu—for ever. Imitate him in his love of country, in all his private and public virtues; and then, like him, you will live beloved, and die lamented.

* *Addison's Campaign.*

† *An epitaph of Ben Johnson's altered.*

COME, ye fair daughters of America, weep for Washington. He saved your parents, friends and lovers. Come, mingle your tears with the adored partner of his cares and joys at Mount-Vernon——

COME all, and take a last look. Many of you remember his triumphant entry into this city after the evacuation, and what pleasure then swelled your bosoms. You remember his second entry when he accepted the presidency of the United States. You pressed to see him. To the officer of the guard appointed to attend him on his landing, he said, "My guard is the affection of my fellow-citizens." There, indeed, he reigned without control. There, indeed, he had a security, and a testimony of his worth, more valuable and durable than the pomp and power of kings can afford. There he will live while there remains one of the present generation; and the faithful historian will hand down his fame to the latest ages. The name of Washington will be revered while the American empire endures; yea, until this globe itself be wrapt in the last fires, and the angel shall "swear by him that liveth for ever and ever, that time shall be no longer."

Oration on the sublime virtues of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *pronounced at the Old South meeting-house in Boston, before his honor the lieutenant-governor, the council, and the two branches of the legislature of Massachusetts. By* FISHER AMES.

IT is natural that the gratitude of mankind should be drawn to their benefactors. A number of these have successively arisen, who were no less distinguished for the elevation of their virtues, than the lustre of their talents. Of those however who were born, and who acted through life, as if they were born, not for themselves, but for their country and the whole human race, how few, alas! are recorded in the long

annals of ages, and how wide the intervals of time and space that divide them! In all this dreary length of way, they appear like five or six light-houses on as many thousand miles of coast: they gleam upon the surrounding darkness, with an inextinguishable splendor, like stars seen through a mist; but they are seen like stars, to cheer, to guide, and to save. Washington is now added to that small number. Already he attracts curiosity, like a newly-discovered star, whose benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's farthest bounds. Already his name is hung up by history, as conspicuously as if it sparkled in one of the constellations of the sky.

By commemorating his death, we are called this day to yield the homage that is due to virtue; to confess the common debt of mankind as well as our own; and to pronounce for posterity, now dumb, that eulogium, which they will delight to echo, ten ages hence, when we are dumb.

I CONSIDER myself not merely in the midst of the citizens of this town, or even of the state. In idea, I gather round me the nation. In the vast and venerable congregation of the patriots of all countries and of all enlightened men, I would, if I could, raise my voice, and speak to mankind in a strain worthy of my audience, and as elevated as my subject. But how shall I express emotions, that are condemned to be mute, because they are unutterable? I felt, and I was witness, on the day when the news of his death reached us, to the throbs of that grief, that saddened every countenance, and wrung drops of agony from the heart. Sorrow labored for utterance, but found none. Every man looked round for the consolation of other men's tears. Gracious heaven! what consolation! each face was convulsed with sorrow for the past; every heart shivered with despair for the future. The man who, and who alone, united all hearts, was dead; dead! at the moment when his power to do good was the greatest, and when the aspect of the imminent public dangers seemed more than ever to render his aid indispensible, and his loss irreparable! irreparable; for two Washington's come not in one age.

A GRIEF so thoughtful, so profound, so mingled with tenderness and admiration, so interwoven with our national self-love, so often revived by being diffused, is not to be expressed. You have assigned me a task that is impossible.

O! IF I could perform it, if I could illustrate his principles in my discourse, as he displayed them in his life; if I could paint his virtues as he practised them; if I could convert the fervid enthusiasm of my heart into the talent to transmit his fame, as it ought to pass to posterity; I should be the successful organ of your will, the minister of his virtues, and, may I dare to say, the humble partaker of his immortal glory. These are ambitious, deceiving hopes, and I reject them. For it is perhaps almost as difficult, at once with judgment and feeling, to praise great actions, as to perform them. A lavish and undistinguishing eulogium is not praise; and to discriminate such excellent qualities as were characteristic and peculiar to him, would be to raise a name, as he raised it, above envy, above parallel, perhaps, for that very reason, above emulation.

SUCH a pourtraying of character, however, must be addressed to the understanding, and therefore, even if it were well executed, would seem to be rather an analysis of moral principles, than the recital of an hero's exploits. It would rather conciliate confidence and esteem, than kindle enthusiasm and admiration. It would be a picture of Washington; and, like a picture, flat as the canvass; like a statue, cold as the marble on which he is represented; cold, alas, as his corpse in the ground. Ah, how unlike the man late warm with living virtues, animated by the soul once glowing with patriotic fires! He is gone! the tomb hides all, that the world could scarcely contain, and that once was Washington, except his glory; *that* is the rich inheritance of his country; and his example; *that* let us endeavor by delineating to impart to mankind. Virtue will place it in her temple, wisdom in her treasury.

PEACE then to your sorrows. I have done with them. Deep as your grief is, I aim not to be pathetic. I desire less to give utterance to the feelings of this age, than to the judgment of

the next. Let us faithfully represent the illustrious dead, as history will paint, as posterity will behold him.

With whatever fidelity I might execute this task, I know that some would prefer a picture drawn to the imagination. They would have our Washington represented of a giant's size, and in the character of a hero of romance. They who love to wonder better than to reason, would not be satisfied with the contemplation of a great example, unless, in the exhibition, it should be so distorted into prodigy, as to be both incredible and useless. Others, I hope but few, who think meanly of human nature, will deem it incredible, that even Washington should think with as much dignity and elevation, as he acted; and they will grovel in vain in the search for mean and selfish motives, that could incite and sustain him to devote his life to his country.

Do not these suggestions sound in your ears like a profanation of virtue? and, while I pronounce them, do you not feel a thrill of indignation at your hearts? Forbear. Time never fails to bring every exalted reputation to a strict scrutiny: the world, in passing the judgment that is never to be reversed, will deny all partiality, even to the name of Washington. Let it be denied: for its justice will confer glory.

Such a life as Washington's cannot derive honor from the circumstances of birth and education, though it throws back a lustre on both. With an inquisitive mind, that always profited by the lights of others, ane was unclouded by passions of its own, he acquired a maturity of judgment, rare in age, unparallelled in youth. Perhaps no young man had so early laid up a life's stock of materials for solid reflection, or settled so soon the principles and habits of his conduct. Grey experience listened to his counsels with respect; and, at a time when youth is almost privileged to be rash, Virginia committed the safety of her frontier, and ultimately the safety of America, not merely to his valor, for that would be scarcely praise; but to his prudence.

It is not in Indian wars that heroes are celebrated ; but it is there they are formed. No enemy can be more formidable, by the craft of his ambushes, the suddenness of his onset, or the ferocity of his vengeance. The soul of Washington was thus exercised to danger ; and on the first trial, as on every other, it appeared firm in adversity, cool in action, undaunted, self-possessed. His spirit, and still more his prudence, on the occasion of Braddock's defeat, diffused his name throughout America, and across the Atlantic. Even then his country viewed him with complacency, as her most hopeful son.

At the peace of 1763, Great-Britain, in consequence of her victories, stood in a position to prescribe her own terms. She chose, perhaps, better for us than herself: for by expelling the French from Canada, we no longer feared hostile neighbors ; and we soon found just cause to be afraid of our protectors. We discerned even then a truth, which the conduct of France has since so strongly confirmed, that there is nothing which the gratitude of weak states can give, that will satisfy strong allies for their aid, but authority. Nations that want protectors, will have masters. Our settlements, no longer checked by enemies on the frontier, rapidly encreased ; and it was discovered, that America was growing to a size that could defend itself.

In this, perhaps unforeseen, but at length obvious state of things, the British government conceived a jealousy of the colonies, of which, and of their intended measures of precaution, they made no secret.

Thus it happened, that their foresight of the evil aggravated its symptoms, and accelerated its progress. The colonists perceived that they could not be governed, as before, by affection; and resolved that they would not be governed by force. Nobly resolved! for had we submitted to the British claims of right, we should have had, if any, less than our antient liberty ; and held what might have been left by a worse tenure.

Our nation, like its great leader, had only to take counsel from its courage. When Washington heard the voice of his

country in distress, his obedience was prompt; and though his sacrifices were great, they cost him no effort. Neither the object nor the limits of my plan, permit me to dilate on the military events of the revolutionary war. Our history is but a transcript of his claims on our gratitude. Our hearts bear testimony, that they are claims not to be satisfied. When overmatched by numbers, a fugitive, with a little band of faithful soldiers; the states as much exhausted as dismayed; he explored his own undaunted heart, and found there resources to retrieve our affairs. We have seen him display as much valor as gives fame to heroes, and as consummate prudence as ensures success to valor; fearless of dangers that were personal to him; hesitating and cautious, when they affected his country; preferring fame before safety or repose; and duty, before fame.

Rome did not owe more to Fabius than America to Washington. Our nation shares with him the singular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildness, and a revolution with order.

The event of that war seemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its chief. Until that contest, a great part of the civilized world had been surprizingly ignorant of the force and character, and almost of the existence, of the British colonies. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curiosity to know the state of thirteen wretched settlements, which vast woods enclosed, and still vaster woods divided from each other. They did not view the colonists so much a people, as a race of fugitives, whom want and solitude, and intermixture with the savages, had made barbarians. Great-Britain, they saw, was elate with her victories: Europe stood in awe of her power: her arms made the thrones of the most powerful unsteady, and disturbed the tranquillity of their states, with an agitation more extensive than an earthquake. As the giant Enceladus is fabled to lie under Etna, and to shake the mountain when he turns his limbs, her hostility was felt to the extremities of the world. It reached to both the Indies; in the wilds of Africa, it obstructed the commerce in slaves; the whales finding, in time of war, a respite from their pursuers, could

venture to sport between the tropics, and did not flee, as in peace, to hide beneath the ice-fields of the polar circle.

At this time, while Great-Britain wielded a force not inferior to that of the Roman empire, under Trajan, suddenly, astonished Europe beheld a feeble people, 'till then unknown, stand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was so unequal, all expected it would be short. The events of that war were so many miracles, that attracted, as much perhaps as any war ever did, the wonder of mankind. Our final success exalted their admiration to its highest point: they allowed to Washington all that is due to transcendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature. They considered us a race of Washingtons, and admitted that nature in America was fruitful only in prodigies. Their books and their travellers, exaggerating and distorting all their representations, assisted to establish the opinion, that this is a new world, with a new order of men and things adapted to it; that here we practice industry, amidst the abundance that requires none; that we have morals so refined, that we do not need laws; and though we have them, yet we ought to consider their execution as an insult and a wrong; that we have virtue without weakness, sentiment without passions, and liberty without factions. These allusions, in spite of their absurdity, and, perhaps, because they are absurd enough to have dominion over the imagination only, have been received by many of the malecontents against the governments of Europe, and induced them to emigrate. Such allusions are too soothing to vanity, to be entirely checked in their currency among Americans.

They have been pernicious, as they cherish false ideas of the rights of men and the duties of rulers. They have led the citizens to look for liberty, where it is not; and to consider the government, which is its castle, as its prison.

Washington retired to Mount-Vernon, and the eyes of the world followed him. He left his countrymen to their simplicity and their passions, and their glory soon departed. Europe began to be undeceived, and it seemed for a time, as if, by the

acquisition of independence, our citizens were disappointed. The confederation was then the only compact made "to form a perfect union of the states, to establish justice, to ensure the tranquillity, and provide for the security, of the nation; and accordingly, union was a name that still commanded reverence, though not obedience. The system called justice was, in some of the states, iniquity reduced to elementary principles; and the public tranquillity was such a portentous calm, as rings in deep caverns before the explosion of an earthquake. Most of the states then were in fact, though not in form, unbalanced democracies. Reason, it is true, spoke audibly in their constitutions; passion and prejudice louder in their laws. It is to the honor of Massachusetts, that it is chargeable with little deviation from principles. Its adherence to them was one of the causes of a dangerous rebellion. It was scarcely possible that such governments should not be agitated by parties, and that prevailing parties should not be vindictive and unjust. Accordingly, in some of the states, creditors were treated as outlaws; bankrupts were armed with legal authority to be persecutors; and, by the shock of all confidence and faith, society was shaken to its foundations. Liberty we had; but we dreaded its abuse almost as much as its loss; and the wise, who deplored the one, clearly foresaw the other.

The states were also becoming formidable to each other. Tribute, under the name of impost, was for years levied by some of the commercial states upon their neighbors.—Measures of retaliation were resorted to, and mutual recriminations had begun to whet the resentments, whose never failing progress among states is more injustice, vengeance and war.

The peace of America hung by a thread, and factions were already sharpening their weapons to cut it. The project of three separate empires in America was beginning to be broached, and the progress of licentiousness would have soon rendered her citizens unfit for liberty in either of them. An age of blood and misery would have punished our disunion: But these were not the considerations to deter ambition from its purpose, while

there were so many circumstances in our political situation to favor it.

At this awful crisis, which all the wise so much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retrospect, so much more dreadful than their fears; some man was wanting, who possessed a commanding power over the popular passions, but over whom those passions had no power—that man was Washington.

His name, at the head of such a list of worthies as would reflect honor on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almost all the well-disposed among the less informed citizens; and, blessed be God! the constitution was adopted. Yes, to the eternal honor of America among the nations of the earth, it was adopted, in spite of the obstacles which, in any other country, and perhaps in any other age than *this*, would have been insurmountable; in spite of the doubts and fears, which well meaning prejudice creates for itself, and which party so artfully inflames into stubbornness; in spite of the vice, which it has subjected to restraint, and which is therefore its immortal and implacable foe; in spite of the oligarchies in some of the states, from whom it snatched dominion; it was adopted, and our country enjoys one more invaluable chance for its union and happiness: invaluable! if the retrospect of the dangers we have escaped, shall sufficiently inculcate the principles we have so tardily established. Perhaps multitudes are not to be taught by their fears only, without suffering much to deepen the impression: for experience brandishes in her school a whip of scorpions, and teaches nations her summary lessons of wisdom by the scars and wounds of their adversity.

The amendments which have been projected in some of the states shew, that in them at least, these lessons are not well remembered. In a confederacy of states, some powerful, others weak, the weakness of the federal union will, sooner or later, encourage, and will not restrain, the ambition and injustice of the members. The weak can no otherwise be strong or safe, but in the energy of the national government. It is this defect,

which the blind jealousy of the weak states not unfrequently contributes to prolong—that has proved fatal to all the confederations that ever existed.

Although it was impossible that such merit as Washington's should not produce envy, it was scarcely possible that, with such a transcendent reputation, he should have rivals. Accordingly, he was unanimously chosen president of the United States.

As a general and a patriot, the measure of his glory was already full; there was no fame left for him to excel but his own, and even that task, the mightiest of all his labors, his civil magistracy has accomplished.

No sooner did the new government begin its auspicious course, than order seemed to arise out of confusion. The governments of Europe had seen the old confederation sinking, squalid, and pale, into the tomb, when they beheld the new American republic rise suddenly from the ground, and, throwing off its grave clothes, exhibiting the stature and proportions of a young giant, refreshed with sleep. Commerce and industry awoke, and were cheerful at their labors; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of prosperity; and the only fear was, that its progress was too rapid, to consist with the purity and simplicity of antient manners. The cares and labors of the president were incessant: his exhortations, example and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the public service: able officers were selected, only for their merits; and some of them remarkably distinguished themselves by their successful management of the public business. Government was administered with such integrity, without mystery, and in so prosperous a course, that it seemed to be wholly employed in acts of beneficence. Though it has made many thousand malecontents, it has never, by its rigor or injustice, made one man wretched.

Such was the state of public affairs; and did it not seem perfectly to ensure uninterrupted harmony to the citizens? Did

they not, in respect to their government, and its administration, possess their whole heart's desire? They had seen and suffered long the want of an efficient constitution; they had freely ratified it: they saw Washington, their tried friend, the father of his country, invested with its powers. They knew that he could not exceed or betray them, without forfeiting his own reputation. Consider, for a moment, what a reputation it was: such as no man ever before possessed by so clear a title, and in so high a degree. His fame seemed in its purity to exceed even its brightness; office took honor from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition stood awed and darkened by his shadow. For where, through the wide earth, was the man so vain as to dispute precedence with him? or what were the honors that could make the possessor Washington's superior? Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the gross could discern in his life the infinite superiority of her rewards. Mankind perceived some change in their ideas of greatness; the splendor of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that Washington could augment his fame; but they knew and felt, that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance.

This is not exaggeration: never was confidence in a man and a chief magistrate more widely diffused, or more solidly established.

If it had been in the nature of man that we should enjoy liberty, without the agitations of party, the United States had a right, under these circumstances, to expect it: but it was impossible. Where there is no liberty, they may be exempt from party. It will seem strange, but it scarcely admits a doubt, that there are fewer malecontents in Turkey, than in any free state in the world. Where the people have no power, they enter into no contests, and are not anxious to know how they shall use it. The spirit of discontent becomes torpid for want of employment, and sighs itself to rest. The people sleep soundly in their chains, and do not even dream of their weight. They lose their turbulence with their energy, and become as tractable

153314

as any other animals: a state of degradation, in which they extort our scorn, and engage our pity, for the misery they do not feel. Yet that heart is a base one, and fit only for a slave's bosom, that would not bleed freely, rather than submit to such a condition; for liberty with all its parties and agitations is more desirable than slavery. Who would not prefer the republics of antient Greece, where liberty once subsisted in its excess, its delirium, terrible in its charms, and glistening to the last with the blaze of the very fire that consumed it?

I DO not know that I ought, but I am sure that I do, prefer those republics to the dozing slavery of the modern Greece, where the degrading wretches have suffered scorn 'till they merit it; where they tread on classic ground, on the ashes of heroes and patriots, unconscious of their ancestry, ignorant of the nature, and almost of the name of liberty, and insensible even to the passion for it. Who, on this contrast, can forbear to say, it is the modern Greece that lies buried, that sleeps forgotten in the caves of Turkish darkness? It is the antient Greece that lives in remembrance, that is still bright with glory, still fresh in immortal youth. They are unworthy of liberty, who entertain a less exalted idea of its excellence. The misfortune is, that those who profess to be its most passionate admirers have, generally, the least comprehension of its hazards and impediments; they expect that an enthusiastic admiration of its nature will reconcile the multitude to the irksomeness of its restraints. Delusive expectation! Washington was not thus deluded. We have his solemn warning against the often fatal propensities of liberty. He had reflected, that men are often false to their country and their honor; false to duty and even to their interest; but multitudes of men are never long false or deaf to their passions: these will find obstacles in the laws, associates in party. The fellowships thus formed are more intimate, and impose commands more imperious, than those of society.

THUS party forms a state within the state, and is animated by a rivalship, fear and hatred, of its superior. When this happens, the merits of the government will become fresh provocations and offences, for they are the merits of an enemy.

No wonder then, that as soon as party found the virtue and glory of Washington were obstacles, the attempt was made, by calumny, to surmount them both. For this, the greatest of all his trials, we know that he was prepared. He knew that the government must possess sufficient strength from within or without, or fall a victim to fashion. This *interior* strength was plainly inadequate to its defence, unless it could be reinforced from *without* by the zeal and patriotism of the citizens; and this latter resource was certainly as accessible to president Washington, as to any chief magistrate that ever lived. The life of the federal government, he considered, was in the breath of the people's nostrils: whenever they should happen to be so infatuated or inflamed as to abandon its defence, its end must be as speedy, and might be as tragical, as a constitution for France.

* While the president was thus administering the government, in so wise and just a manner, as to engage the great majority of the enlightened and virtuous citizens to co-operate with him for its support, and while he indulged the hope that time and habit were confirming their attachment, the French revolution had reached that point in its progress, when its terrible principles began to agitate all civilized nations. I will not, on this occasion, detain you to express, though my thoughts teem with it, my deep abhorrence of that revolution; its despotism, by the mob or the military, from the first, and its hy-

* *The government of Massachusetts has manifested, more than once, and so lately as the last year,* [1799] *a wise discernment of the pernicious tendency of certain usurping claims by states, and of changes proposed to abolish, under the name of amending, the constiiution.*

The example has had its proper weight to produce, in other states, a like zealous and prompt support of the national government.

Long may such patriotic zeal continue, and ever may its efforts obtain a like success!

pocricy of morals to the last. Scenes have passed there which exceed description, and which, for other reasons, I will not attempt to describe; for it would not be possible, even at this distance of time, and with the sea between us and France, to go through with the recital of them, without perceiving horror gather, like a frost, about the heart, and almost stop its pulse. That revolution has been constant in nothing but its vicissitudes, and its promises; always delusive but always renewed, to establish philosophy by crimes, and liberty by the sword. The people of France, if they are not like the modern Greeks, find their cap of liberty is a soldier's helmet; and, with all their imitation of dictators and consuls, their exactest similitude to these Roman ornaments, is in their chains. The nations of Europe perceive another resemblance, in their all-conquering ambition.

But it is only the influence of that event on America, and on the measures of the president, that belongs to my subject. It would be ungratefully wrong to his character to be silent in respect to a part of it, which has the most signally illustrated his virtues.

The genuine character of that revolution is not even yet so well understood as the dictates of self-preservation require it should be. The chief duty and care of all governments is to protect the rights of property, and the tranquillity of society. The leaders of the French revolution, from the beginning, excited the poor against the rich: this has made rich poor, but it will never make the poor rich. On the contrary, they were used only as blind instruments to make those leaders masters, first of the adverse party, and then of the state. Thus the powers of the state were turned round into a direction exactly contrary to the proper one, not to preserve tranquillity and restrain violence, but to excite violence by the lure of power, and plunder, and vengeance. Thus all France has been, and still is, as much the prize of the ruling party as a captured ship, and if any right or possession has escaped confiscation, there is none that has not been liable to it.

Thus it clearly appears that, in its origin, its character, and its means, the government of that country is revolutionary; that is, not only different from, but directly contrary to, every regular and well ordered society. It is a danger, similar in its kind, and at least equal in degree, to that, with which antient Rome menaced her enemies. The allies of Rome were slaves; and it cost some hundred years efforts of her policy and arms, to make her enemies her allies. Nations, at this day, can trust no better to treaties; they cannot even trust to arms, unless they are used with a spirit and perseverance becoming the magnitude of their danger. For the French revolution has been, from the first, hostile to all right and justice, to all peace and order in society; and, therefore, its very existence has been a state of warfare against the civilized world, and most of all against free and orderly republics. For such are never without factions, ready to be the allies of France, and to aid her in the work of destruction. Accordingly, scarcely any but republics have they subverted. Such governments, by shewing in practice what republican liberty *is*, detect French imposture, and shew what their pretexts are *not*.

To subvert them, therefore, they had, besides the facility that faction affords, the double excitement of removing a reproach, and converting their greatest obstacles into their most efficient auxiliaries.

Who then, on careful reflection, will be surprized, that the French and their partizans instantly conceived the desire, and made the most powerful attempts, to revolutionize the American government? But it will hereafter seem strange that their excesses should be excused, as the effects of a struggle for liberty, and that so many of our citizens should be flattered, while they were insulted, with the idea, that our example was copied, and our principles pursued. Nothing was ever so false, or more fascinating. Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits, to which even prejudices yield; on the dispersion of our people on farms, and on the almost equal diffusion of property; it is founded on morals and religion, whose authority reigns in the heart, and on the influence all these pro-

duce on public opinion before *that* opinion governs rulers. *Here* liberty is restraint, *there* it is violence; *here* it is mild and cheering, like the morning sun of our summer, brightening the hills, and making the vallies green; *there* it is like the sun, when his rays dart pestilence on the sands of Africa. American liberty calms and restrains the licentious passions, like an angel that says to the winds and troubled seas—be still. But how has French licentiousness appeared to the wretched citizens of Switzerland and Venice? Do not their haunted imaginations, even when they wake, represent her as a monster, with eyes that flash wild fire, hands that hurl thunderbolts, a voice that shakes the foundation of the hills? She stands, and her ambition measures the earth; she speaks, and an epidemic fury seizes the nations.

Experience is lost upon us, if we deny, that it had seized a large part of the American nation. It is as sober and intelligent, as free, and as worthy to be free, as any in the world; yet, like all other people, we have passions and prejudices, and they have received a violent impulse, which, for a time, misled us.

Jacobinism had become here, as in France, rather a sect than a party; inspiring a fanaticism that was equally intolerant and contagious. The delusion was general enough to be thought the voice of the people, therefore claiming authority without proof; and jealous enough to act acquiescence without a murmur of contradiction. Some progress was made in training multitudes to be vindictive and ferocious. To them nothing seemed amiable, but the revolutionary justice of Paris; nothing terrible, but the government and justice of America. The very name of *patriots* was claimed and applied in proportion as the citizens had alienated their hearts from America, and transferred their affections to their foreign corrupter. Party discerned its intimate connection of interest with France, and consummated its profligacy by yielding to foreign influence.

The views of these allies required that this country should engage in war with Great-Britain. Nothing less would give

to France all the means of annoying this dreaded rival: nothing less would ensure the subjection of America, as a satellite to the ambition of France: nothing else could make a revolution here perfectly inevitable.

For this end, the minds of the citizens were artfully enflamed, and the moment was watched, and impatiently waited for, when their long heated passions should be in fusion, to pour them forth, like the lava of a volcano, to blacken and consume the peace and government of our country.

The systematic operations of a faction under foreign influence had begun to appear, and were successively pursued, in a manner too deeply alarming to be soon forgotten. Who of us does not remember this worst of evils in this worst of ways? Shame would forget, if it could, that, in one of the states, amendments were proposed to break down the federal senate, which, as in the state governments, is a great bulwark of the public order. To break down another, an extravagant judiciary power was claimed for states. In another state a rebellion was fomented by the agent of France. And who, without fresh indignation can remember, that the powers of government were openly usurped; troops levied, and ships fitted out to fight for her? Nor can any true friend to our government consider without dread, that, soon afterwards, the treaty making power was boldly challenged for a branch of the government, from which the constitution has wisely withholden it.

I am oppressed, and know not how to proceed with my subject—Washington, blessed be God! who endued him with wisdom and clothed him with power—Washington issued his proclamation of neutrality, and, at an early period, arrested the intrigues of France and the passions of his countrymen, on the very edge of the precipice of war and revolution.

This act of firmness, at the hazard of his reputation and peace, entitles him to the name of the first of patriots. Time was gained for the citizens to recover their virtue and good

sense, and they soon recovered them. The crisis was passed, and America was saved.

You and I, most respected fellow-citizens, should be sooner tired than satisfied in recounting the particulars of this illustrious man's life.

How great he appeared, while he administered the government, how much greater when he retired from it, how he accepted the chief military command under his wise and upright successor, how his life was unspotted like his fame, and how his death was worthy of his life, are so many distinct subjects of instruction, and each of them singly more than enough for an eulogium. I leave the task however to history and to posterity; they will be faithful to it.

It is not impossible, that some will affect to consider the honors paid to this great patriot by the nation, as excessive, idolatrous, and degrading to freemen, who are all equal. I answer, that refusing to virtue its legitimate honors, would not prevent their being lavished, in future, on any worthless and ambitious favorite. If this day's example should have its natural effect, it will be salutary. Let such honors be so conferred only when, in future, they shall be so merited: then the public sentiment will not be misled, nor the principles of a just equality corrupted. The best evidence of reputation is a man's whole life. We have now, alas! all Washington's before us. There has scarcely appeared a really great man, whose character has been more admired in his life time, or less correctly understood by his admirers. When it is comprehended, it is no easy task to delineate its excellencies in such a manner, as to give to the portrait both interest and resemblance. For it requires thought and study to understand the true ground of the superiority of his character over many others, whom he resembled in the principles of action, and even in the manner of acting. But perhaps he excels all the great men that ever lived, in the steadiness of his adherence to his maxims of life, and in the uniformity of all his conduct to the same maxims. These maxims, though wise, were yet not so remarkable for their wisdom, as

for their authority over his life: for if there were any errors in his judgment, (and he discovered as few as any man) we know of no blemishes in his virtue. He was the patriot without reproach: he loved his country well enough to hold his success in serving it an ample recompense. Thus far self-love and love of country coincided: but when his country needed sacrifices, that no other man could, or perhaps would be willing to make, he did not even hesitate. This was virtue in its most exalted character. More than once he put his fame at hazard, when he had reason to think it would be sacrificed, at least in this age. Two instances cannot be denied. When the army was disbanded; and again, when he stood, like Leonidas, at the pass of Thermopylæ, to defend our independence against France.

It is indeed almost as difficult to draw his character, as the portrait of virtue. The reasons are similar. Our ideas of moral excellence are obscure, because they are complex, and we are obliged to resort to illustrations. Washington's example is the happiest to shew what virtue is: and to delineate his character, we naturally expatiate on the beauty of virtue. Much must be felt, and much imagined. His pre-eminence is not so much to be seen in the display of any one virtue, as in the possession of them all, and in the practice of the most difficult. Hereafter therefore his character must be studied before it will be striking; and then it will be admitted as a model; a precious one to a free republic!

It is no less difficult to speak of his talents. They were adapted to lead without dazzling mankind; and to draw forth and employ the talents of others, without being misled by them. In this he was certainly superior, that he neither mistook nor misapplied his own. His great modesty and reserve would have concealed them, if great occasions had not called them forth; and then, as he never spoke from the affectation to shine, nor acted from any sinister motives, it is from their effects only that we are to judge of their greatness and extent. In public trusts, where men, acting conspicuously, are cautious, and in those private concerns, where few conceal or resist their weaknesses, Washington was uniformly great; pursuing right conduct from

right maxims. His talents were such as assist a sound judgment, and ripen with it. His prudence was consummate, and seemed to take the direction of his powers and passions; for, as a soldier, he was more solicitous to avoid mistakes that might be fatal, than to perform exploits that are brilliant; and as a statesman, to adhere to just principles, however old, than to pursue novelties; and therefore, in both characters, his qualities were singularly adapted to the interest, and were tried in the greatest perils, of the country. His habits of enquiry were so remarkable, that he was never satisfied with investigating, nor desisted from it, so long as he had less than all the light he could obtain upon a subject; and then he made his decision without bias.

This command over the partialities that so generally stop men short, or turn them aside, in their pursuit of truth, is one of the chief causes of his unvaried course of right conduct in so many difficult scenes, where every human actor must be presumed to err.

If he had strong passions, he had learned to subdue them, and to be moderate and mild. If he had weaknesses he concealed them, which is rare, and excluded them from the government of his temper and conduct, which is still more rare. If he loved fame, he never made improper compliances for what is called popularity. The fame he enjoyed is of the kind that will last forever; yet it was rather the effect, than the motive, of his conduct. Some future Plutarch will search for a parallel to his character. Epaminondas is perhaps the brightest name of all antiquity. Our Washington resembled him in the purity and ardor of his patriotism; and, like him, he first exalted the glory of his country. There, it is hoped, the parallel ends: for Thebes fell with Epaminondas. But such comparisons cannot be pursued far, without departing from the similitude. For we shall find it as difficult to compare great men as great rivers. Some we admire for the length and rapidity of their curiosity, and the grandeur of their cataracts: others, for the majestic silence and fulness of their streams: We cannot bring them together to measure the difference of their waters. The unam-

bitious life of Washington, declining fame, yet courted by it, seemed, like the Ohio, to chuse its long way through solitudes, diffusing fertility; or like his own Potowmac, widening and deepening his channel, as he approaches the sea, and displaying most the usefulness and serenity of his greatness towards the end of his course. Such a citizen would do honor to any country. The constant veneration and affection of his country will shew, that it was worthy of such a citizen.

However his military fame may excite the wonder of mankind, it is chiefly by his civil magistracy, that his example will instruct them. Great generals have arisen in all ages of the world, and perhaps most in those of despotism and darkness. In times of violence and convulsion, they rise, by the force of the whirlwind, high enough to ride in it, and direct the storm. Like meteors, they glare on the black clouds with a splendor, that, while it dazzles and terrifies, makes nothing visible but the darkness. The fame of heroes is indeed growing vulgar: they multiply in every long war: they stand in history, and thicken in their ranks, almost as undistinguished as their own soldiers.

But such a chief magistrate as Washington, appears like the pole star in a clear sky, to direct the skilful statesman. His presidency will form an epoch, and be distinguished as the age of Washington. Already it assumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way, it whitens along its allotted portion of the hemisphere. The latest generations of men will survey, through the telescope of history, the space where so many virtues blend their rays, and delight to separate them into groups and distinct virtues. As the best illustration of them, the living monument to which the first of patriots would have chosen to consign his fame, it is my earnest prayer to heaven, that our country may subsist, even to that late day, in the plenitude of its liberty and happiness, and mingle its mild glory with Washington's.

Oration on the death of general WASHINGTON; *delivered at the request of the corporation of the city of New-York. By* GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

AMERICANS,

ASSEMBLED to pay the last dues of filial piety to him who was the father of his country, it is meet that we take one last look at the man whom we have lost forever.

BORN to high destinies, he was fashioned for them by the hand of nature. His form was noble—his port majestic. On his front were enthroned the virtues which exalt, and those which adorn the human character. So dignified his deportment, no man could approach him but with respect. None was great in his presence. You all have seen him, and you all have felt the reverence he inspired; it was such, that to command, seemed in him but the exercise of an ordinary function, while others felt a duty to obey, which (anterior to the injunctions of civil ordinance, or the compulsion of a military code) was imposed by the high behests of nature.

HE had *every* title to command. Heaven, in giving him the higher qualities of the soul, had given also the tumultuous passions which accompany greatness, and frequently tarnish its lustre. With them was his first contest, and his first victory was over himself. So great the empire he had there acquired, that calmness of manner and of conduct distinguished him through life. Yet, those who have seen him strongly moved, will bear witness that his wrath was terrible; they have seen boiling in his bosom, passion almost too mighty for man; yet, when just bursting into act, that strong passion was controlled by his stronger mind.

HAVING thus a perfect command of himself, he could rely on the full exertion of his powers, in whatever direction he might order them to act. He was therefore, clear, decided and unembarrassed by any consideration of himself. Such consideration did not even dare to intrude on his reflections. Hence it was, that he beheld not only the affairs that were passing around

him, but those also in which he was personally engaged, with the coolness of an unconcerned spectator. They were to him as events historically recorded. His judgment was always clear, because his mind was pure. And seldom, if ever, will a sound understanding be met with in the company of a corrupt heart.

In the strength of judgment lay, indeed, one chief excellence of his character. Leaving to feebler minds that splendor of genius, which, while it enlightens others, too often dazzles the possessor, he knew how best to use the rays which genius might emit, and carry into act its best conceptions.

So modest, he wished not to attract attention, but observed in silence, and saw deep into the human heart. Of a thousand propositions he knew to distinguish the best; and to select among a thousand the man most fitted for his purpose. If ever he was deceived in his choice, it was by circumstances of social feeling which did honor to his heart. Should it, therefore, in the review of his conduct, appear that he was merely not infallible, the few errors which fell to his lot, as a man, will claim the affections of his fellow men. Pleased with the rare, but graceful weakness, they will admire that elevation of soul, which, superior to resentment, gave honor and power, with liberal hand, to those by whom he had been offended. Not to conciliate a regard, which, if it be venal, is worth no price, but to draw forth in your service the exercise of talents which he could duly estimate, in spite of incidents by which a weaker mind would have been thrown from its bias.

In him were the courage of a soldier, the intrepidity of a chief, the fortitude of a hero. He had given to the impulsions of bravery all the calmness of his character; and, if in the moment of danger, his manner was distinguishable from that of common life, it was by superior ease and grace.

To each desire he had taught the lessons of moderation. Prudence became therefore the companion of his life. Never in the public, never in the private hour did she abandon him even for a moment. And, if in the small circle, where he might

safely think aloud, she should have slumbered amid convivial joy, his quick sense of what was just, and decent, and fit, stood ever ready to awaken her at the slightest alarm.

KNOWING how to appreciate the world, its gifts and glories, he was truly wise. Wise also in selecting the objects of his pursuit. And wise in adopting just means to compass honorable ends.

BOUND by the sacred ties of wedded love, his high example strengthened the tone of public manners. Beloved, almost adored by the amiable partner of his toils and dangers, who shared with him the anxieties of public life, and sweetened the shade of retirement, no fruit was granted to their union. No child to catch with pious tenderness the falling tear, and soothe the anguish of connubial affliction. No living image remains to her of his virtues, and she must seek them sorrowing in the grave. Who shall arraign, O God! thy high decree? Was it in displeasure, that to the father of his country thou hadst denied a son? Was it in mercy, lest the paternal virtues should have triumphed (during some frail moment) in the patriot bosom? Americans, he had no child—BUT YOU—and HE WAS ALL YOUR OWN.

LET envy come forward if she dare, and seek some darkened spot in this sun of our glory. From the black catalogue of crimes envy herself must speak him free. Had he (a mortal) the failings attached to man?—Was he the slave of avarice? No. Wealth was an object too mean for his regard. And yet economy presided over his domestic concerns; for his mind was too lofty to brook dependence. Was he ambitious? No. His spirit soared beyond ambition's reach. He saw a crown high above all human grandeur. He sought, he gained, and wore *that* crown. But he had indeed one frailty—the weakness of great minds. He was fond of fame, and had reared a colossal reputation. It stood on the rock of his virtue. This was dear to his heart. There was but one thing dearer. He loved glory, but still more he loved his country. That was the master pas-

sion, and, with resistless might, it ruled his every thought, and word, and deed.

We see him stepping, as it were, from his cradle, into the fields of glory, and meriting the public confidence, at a period when others too often consume in idleness the moments lent for instruction, or (in pursuit of pleasure) waste their moral energies. While yet his cheek was covered with the down of youth, he had combined the character of an able negociator with that of a gallant soldier. Scarce had he given this early pledge of future service, when he was called on for the quick performance. He accompanies to the western wilds Braddock, who, bred in camps of European war, despised the savage. But soon entrapped in the close ambush, military skill becomes of no avail. The leaders, selected by unerring aim, first fall—the troops lie thick in slaughtered heaps, the victims of an invisible foe. Washington, whose warnings had been neglected, still gives the aid of salutary counsel to his ill-fated chief, and urges it with all the grace of eloquence, and all the force of conviction. A form so manly draws the attention of the savage, and is doomed to perish. The murdering instruments are levelled—the quick bolts fly winged with death, and pierce his garments; but obedient to the sovereign will, they dare not shed his blood. Braddock falls at his feet; and the youthful hero covers, with his brave Virginians, the retreat of Britons, not less brave, but surprized by unusual war.

These bands of brothers were soon to stand in hostile opposition. Such was the decree of Him to whom are present all the revolutions of time and empire. When no hope remained but in the field of blood, Washington was called on by his country to lead her armies. In modest doubt of his own ability, he submitted with reluctance to the necessity of becoming her chief; and took on him the weight, the care and the anguish of a civil war. Ambition would have tasted here the sweets of power, and drunk deep of intoxicating draughts, but to the patriot, these sweets are bitterness.

Industrious, patient, persevering, he remained at the head of citizens scarcely armed; and, sparing of blood, by skill, rather than by force, compelled his foe to seek a more favorable theatre of war. And now all hope of union lost, America (by her declaration of independence) cut the last slender thread of connection.

She had hitherto been successful; but was soon shaken by adverse storms. The counsel of her chief had been neglected. His army had been raised by annual enlistment. The poor remnant of accumulated defeat, retreating before an enemy flushed with success, and confident in all superiority, looked with impatience to the approaching term of service. The prospect was on all sides gloomy; and sunshine friends "(turning their halycon *beaks* to fairer skies") sought shelter from the storm. But though betrayed by fortune, his calm and steady mind remained true to itself. Winter had closed the campaign. Solacing in the enjoyment of what their arms had acquired, the victors tasted pleasure unalloyed by the dread of danger. They were sheltered behind one of the broad barriers of nature; and, safely housed, beheld upon its farther shore, a feeble adversary, exposed beneath the canopy of heaven to the rigors of an unpitying season. It was hoped that, when their term of enlistment expired, the American troops would disperse; and the chief (in despair) throw up his command. Such was the reasoning, and such reasoning would (in ordinary cases) have been conclusive. But that chief was Washington! He shews to his gallant comrades the danger of their country, and asks the aid of patriotic service. At his voice their hearts beat high. In vain the raging Delaware, vext with the wintry blast, forbids their march. In vain he rolls along his rocky bed, a frozen torrent, whose ponderous mass threatens to sweep the soldier from his uncertain footstep, and bear him down the flood! In vain the beating snow adds to the dangerous ford a darkened horror! Difficulties and dangers animate the brave. His little band is arrived; Washington is within the walls—the enemy is subdued!

Fortune now smiles—but who can trust to that fallacious smile? Preparations are already made to punish the American

leader for his adventrous hardihood. And now he sees, stretched out before him in wide array, a force so great that in the battle there is no hope. Behind him the impassable stream cuts off retreat. Already from his brazen throat the cannon gives loud summons to the field. But the setting sun leaves yet a dreary night to brood over approaching ruin. The earth is shrouded in the veil of darkness; and now the illustrious chief takes up his silent march, and in wide circuit leads his little band around the unwary foe. At the dawn, his military thunders tell them their reserve, posted far in the rear, is in the pounces of the American eagle. They hasten back to revenge; but he has already secured his advantage, and (by a well chosen position) confines them to inglorious repose. The armies now rest from their toil. But for him there is no rest. His followers claim the double right of returning to their homes, and he stands almost alone. He dares not ask for aid, lest the enemy, emboldened by the acknowledgment of weakness, should dissipate his shadow of an army. Nothing remains but to intimidate by the appearance of a force, which does not exist; and hide from his own troops their great inferiority. Both are effected by skill rarely equalled—never excelled.

Scarce hath the advancing season brought forward a few recruits when he begins offensive operations. His enemy foiled in each attempt to advance, is compelled to ask from the ocean some safer road to conquest. The propitious deep receives on his broad bosom the invading host, and bids his obedient billows bear them to some shore, where they may join the advantage of surprize with those of number, discipline and appointments. The hope is vain! Washington had penetrated their views, and stands before them! He is unfortunate. Defeated, not subdued—he leads on again to new attack. The half-gained victory, snatched from his grasp, at the head of an inferior, twice beaten army, he passes the long winter in an open field, within one day's march of his foe.

Here he was doomed to new difficulties, and dangers unknown before. Faction had reared (in the American councils) her *accursed* head, and labored to remove him from the com-

mand. That measure would at once have disbanded his affectionate troops—the country around them was exhausted. He had no means to clothe or feed his army—none to change their position. Many perished—each day the numbers were alarmingly diminished, and reinforcement was dangerous, because it might encrease the famine. Under these circumstances, a new system of organization and discipline was to be formed, introduced and enforced, while the soldier could seldom obtain even his poor pittance of depreciated paper.—

———" *Who then hath seen*
" *The gallant leader of that ruined band,*
" *Let him cry praise and glory on his head.*"

It was in the solitary walk of night—it was in the bosom of friendship that he could alone unburthen himself, of the vast woe which weighed upon his heart. Here was indeed no common or vulgar care. Honor—liberty—his country, stood on the dangerous margin of uncertain fate, and no human eye could pierce the dark cloud which hung upon futurity.

From this black night of gloomy apprehension, broke forth the sun of golden, glorious hope!—A mighty monarch had connected his fortunes with those of America. In her defence the flag of France was unfurled, and gratitude hailed the sixteenth Louis, protector of the rights of mankind. His powerful interference took off from what remained of the war, all reasonable doubt as to the final event. After a varied scene of adverse and prosperous circumstances, that event varied, and a solemn treaty acknowledged your independence.

Great was the joy and high the general expectation, for the political state of America was not duly considered. Her band of federal union had been woven by the hand of distrust. The different states had been held together, in no small degree, by the external pressure of war. That pressure removed, they might fall asunder. There existed various causes of discontent, which the intrigues of European policy might ripen into disgust. Those who shared in the public counsels were filled, therefore, with deep apprehension. The army, taught by years of painful

experience, became a prey to sinister forebodings. Connected by the endearing ties of soldierly brotherhood, these gallant sons of freedom anticipated with horror the moment when they might be called on to unsheath their swords against each other; and pour, in impious libation, the purest of their blood upon the altars of civil war. Some of the more ardent spirits, smarting from the past, and fearing for the future, had formed a wish, that the army might be kept together, and (by its appearance) accelerate the adoption of an efficient government. The sentiment was patriotic—the plan of doubtful complection—the success uncertain—but the prospect was fair if the chief could be engaged.

He knew their wrongs! He knew their worth! He felt their apprehensions!—They had strong claims upon him, and those claims were strongly urged. Supreme power, with meretricious charms, courted his embrace; and was clothed, to seduce him, in the robes of justice. If, therefore, ambition had possessed a single corner of his heart, he might have deliberated. But he was ever loyal. He bid a last adieu to the companions of his glory, and laid all his laurels at the feet of his country!

His fame was now complete, and it was permitted him to hope for ease in dignified retirement. Vain hope! The defects of the federal compact are soon too deeply felt not to be generally acknowledged—America directs a revision by persons of her choice. He is their president. It is a question, previous to the first meeting, what course shall be pursued. Men of decided temper, who, devoted to the public, overlooked prudential considerations, thought a form of government should be framed entirely new. But cautious men, with whom popularity was an object, deemed it fit to consult and comply with the wishes of the people. Americans! let the opinion then delivered by the greatest and best of men, be ever present to your remembrance. He was collected within himself. His countenance had more than usual solemnity. His eye was fixed, and seemed to look into futurity. "It is (said he) too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what

we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God." This was the patriot voice of Washington; and this the constant tenor of his conduct. With this deep sense of duty, he gave to our constitution his cordial assent; and has added the fame of a legislator to that of a hero.

Again, in the shade of retirement, he seeks repose; but is called, by unanimous voice, to be the first magistrate of the United States. Scarce are the wheels of government in motion, when he is struck by the view of that enormous revolution which still torments and terrifies the earth. The flames of war were spread throughout Europe, and threatened to waste the globe. The delegated incendiaries found America filled with inflammable matter. All the bad passions, with some that were good, stimulated her to engage in the contest. But the president, still calm, discerning, and true to your truest interest, proclaimed, observed, and maintained an exact neutrality. In vain was he assailed from abroad: in vain solicited, excited, urged, by those around him. He stood immoveable! Vain also were the clamors of mistaken zeal, the dark efforts of insidious faction, and the foul voice of mercenary slander. You have all lately seen his firm administration, and all now enjoy the rich result of his inflexible wisdom.

Though he still turned with fond desire towards his domestic shade, he never left the helm during the fury of the storm, but remained 'till he had the well founded expectation that America might enjoy peace, freedom, and safety—and then at last he claims the right of age. A venerable veteran, in all honorable service, having consecrated to his country the spirit of youth, the strength of manhood, and the ripe experience of laborious years, he asks repose. His body broken with toil must rest.——No—he is called forth again—again must he gird on his sword and prepare for the battle!—And see! fresh in renewed vigor, he decks his hoary head with nodding plumes of war, and mounts the barbed steed. With countenance erect and firm, his eagle eye measures the lengthened file. Wonder-

ful man! he seems immortal—Oh no—no—no, this our pride, our glory, is gone—He is gone forever.

But yet his spirit liveth. Hail! happy shade—the broad shield of death is thrown before thy fame. Never shall the polluted breath of slander blow upon *thine* ashes. We will watch with pious care the laurels which shade thy urn, and wear thy name engraven on our hearts.—Oh! yet protect thy country!—Save her!—She is an orphan—Her father is mingled with the dust.

No! HE LIVETH—HE SHALL LIVE FOREVER!—And when the latest of your children's children, shall pronounce his dear, his sacred name, their eyes shall be suffused with the tear of GRATITUDE and LOVE.

Funeral oration on the death of brother GEORGE WASHINGTON; *delivered at Lancaster, before lodge No.* 43, *and a large and respectable audience of ladies and gentlemen. By brother* WILLIAM CLARK FRAZER.

Worshipful master, junior and senior wardens, junior deacons, brethren, ladies and gentlemen,

IN compliance with your directions, I rise to execute the task you have assigned, conscious that every indulgence which a candid generous fraternity and audience are always disposed to give to persons in my situation and of my capacity, will be granted. The task is disagreeable, but a performance of it is necessary, as a tribute due from this lodge to the memory of our worthy deceased brother general GEORGE WASHINGTON. It is necessary, as it calls to our recollection his splendid virtues. It is necessary, as a means whereby we can perpetuate his name. It is necessary, as it presents to us a thorough-finished picture of man; in viewing which, independent of the improvement, we derive exquisite satisfaction from the contem-

plation of its various beauties. These, as considerations of an important kind, together with the pleasing reflections arising from an idea of my complying with the will of our great and good government, as also with that of a social and friendly institution, lessen the weight of it. To become acquainted with the value and worth of an individual as great as Washinton, we must contemplate his actions and atchievements with an eye of impartiality, view the various sources and springs from whence they have arisen. Thence we shall appreciate his true importance, and the loss his country has sustained in his death. This is the only accurate mode of trying characters, that has ever been adopted by men of wisdom ; and if in following them I trespass upon your patience and time, I must solicit your friendly indulgence.

While ignorance continued to darken the horizon of Europe, and intercept those rays coming from the fountain of wisdom, priestcraft and bigotry seemed to have forged fetters for the human mind ; and in the security of their own omnipotence, slumbered away, little thinking that the enlightened few, the chosen of heaven, exiled by their influence from their native realms to this then desert northern country, would here, in course of some few passing years, erect an empire that would be the ornament of the world, and overthrow their usurped and cursed power. Yes, it was here they received their death blow. Yes, it was here our persecuted ancestors found an asylum, established the temple of knowledge, and through her, as a medium, worshipped the great First Cause, and adored the attributes of his divinity. It was here wandering, harrassed protestantism, and morality, her foster sister, found a mansion of rest and permanent security against the attacks of foes. From the earliest period of settlement, we discover strong exertions towards the attainment of information, the dissemination of correct religious principles, and the expansion of science. To these as causes we may indirectly ascribe the greatness of our country.

Our much-esteemed brother having formed his mind by an education built upon these then predominant principles, acquired

that greatness of thought, that nobleness and heroism of soul, which supported him in difficulties, perils and dangers, such as man never before witnessed or experienced. This also pointed out to him those great duties which he always pertinaciously practised: 1, to serve his creator; 2, his country; 3, his family and himself. Impelled by such strong powers as those that move the machine, man, with so much majestic grandeur and dignified elegance, when his country called him to take an active part against an invading savage foe, we see him obedient to her call, like antient Sparta's sons, gird on the sword of war, call forth his brothers in arms, animate them by his own example, stimulate them with the well-told tale of former hero's greatness in such a well-fought battle, and raise in their glowing breasts the pride of the experienced warrior. We see him leaving the pleasures and solacing comforts of retirement, tracing the almost impenetrable forests of our western country, scaling the stupendous mountains of Allegheny, against which the savage yell and dismal war-hoop striking, rebound with renewed violence, and fill with horror the mind of the lonely traveller; buffeting with the sable waves of the numerous rivers that form the grand Ohio, ignorant of the lurking den of the savage, from whence the arrows of death driven, so faithfully execute the intentions of their master. He marches undaunted. We see his little but brave band subsisting on the casual supplies of the woods, and hunger, as a consequence thereto, their familiar attendant; the damp ground their bed, the canopy of heaven, awful with the blackness of night, their covering. We see them meet the enemy; the fight ensues, and conquest is wrested from the tawney warrior, long famed and sung of for his many feats. We see him here in a most amiable point of view, extending humanity to the unfortunate in war, and alleviating the distresses of his wounded fellow-soldiers. Here he plants his greatness as a soldier. Here he plants the laurel from whence future heros may pluck the wreath of fame. We afterwards see him progressing towards the temple of fame, at the Big Meadows, where the malign shaft transfixed the brave, the unfortunate Braddock, who so nobly fell. The army is surrounded, deprived of their leader, the foe exasperated, the most horrid imprisonment and excruciating punishments in view.

They are in despair. Washington is thought of, he is called upon to assume the command. He flies from rank to rank, calls upon them to bid defiance to a superior enemy, consolidates his battalions, leads them on—the enemy fall before them like the ripened harvest under the eastern storm—he secures a retreat. Here he shews, in the great general, the philosophic mind, calm, collected, and resolved, in surrounding dangers.

On the conclusion of this war, which had desolated the eastern and western worlds, he retires with that reward so much prized by the worthy and good man—the thanks of his grateful country. His name visits Europe; he is applauded by the admirers of merit, and is envied by those who are jealous of our rising country, and its growing characters. Prescience points out his future fame and greatness. The pious, the reverend Davies, prophecies from the sacred desk the miracles and the salvation that he is to work. Peace, ever-blessed peace, always sought for by the meritorious, justly valued by the prudent and brave, is once more fixed upon her broad basis; and, like the returning spring, that enlivens nature in so many beauteous ways, she throws around plenty with happiness into every cottage, content and cheerfulnese into every bosom. Washington now lays down that sword which his government had entrusted to his care, and by their desire returns it to its antient habitation, with a promise that whenever his services are required, his greatest pleasure will be in submitting to their authority. Now he withdraws to the shades of domestic tranquillity, cultivates the soil, harmony in society, encourages literature, the arts, sciences and manufactures; diffuses around in his small circle of neighbors, and his own family, all the fine, delicate sensibility of his more refined understanding.

Here let us stop, and admire the man, retreating from greatness in war to exercise the more peaceful functions of the husbandman. Perhaps some may be surprized; no, it was here he could hold intercourse with himself, and confer with his God. It was here he could give a full scope for the display of the wondrous powers of his mind. It was here he studied the lesson he had learned in the school of war, and digested its crude

and ponderous mass. It was hese he planned the measures whereby he could make his country independent, and laid the foundation of his glory. It was here he perfected those principles that had been early instilled into his mind by a fostering, attentive parent. Here it was that he obtained access to the sacred temple of masonry, and beheld her lovely in all her mysterious majesty. Here it was that he informed himself of the heros of antient days. Those were the sweets and beauties that allured him, when retiring from the tent of Mars. Those were the advantages and benefits that resulted from silence and retreat, to his capacious and well-tutored mind. But how long did he enjoy those inexpressible charms, arising from a worldly absence, and flowing from the fountain of peace! O, life! how transitory are thy scenes! they are all the vision of the moment; when we think that we have obtained thy blessings, and have made sure of them, how soon do we lose them! Scarce had a few revolving suns traversed yonder sky, a few seasons paced slowly on from the close of the war, until the affections of his countrymen snatched him once more from his heart-fond home, to join them in redressing these grievances laid upon them by an unfeeling, unnatural parent, contrary to their unalienable and natural rights, secured and guaranteed to them by their numerous predecessors, and the most noble sovereigns that ever graced Britannia's throne. In this capacity he joins the grand national council, protesting with a manly spirit against those acts of usurpation, but at the same time petitioning with an humble propriety for redress. Here, like Cincinnatus, he is firmly resolved and determined to maintain his country's freedom, let the consequences be what they might. Here, in this august body, he acquired redoubled confidence in the hearts of his countrymen. Here he exhibited the wise man, by his correct conduct, and cautious silence. The success of congress in obtaining their desired object, every one must know: nothing like redress or restitution, nothing like reconciliation were offered. They are told that they have nothing to hope for from an offended sovereign. They become roused, indignant; quiet submission and passive obedience are now raised and enkindled into revenge. They assume to themselves the determination to live free, or fall with their liberty, in her protection and defence.

These measures bring an army to enforce the decrees and oppressive mandates of their master. It is landed, and cruel tyranny, hitherto a stranger to our land, now exerts her awful sway. Our citizens are imprisoned and in chains. The groans of the martyrs in our cause are heard, with heart-rending pangs, to every bosom of sensibility. The clanking fetters that bind down the aged fathers of families, din the ear of the passing freeman, and in language more emphatic than that of words, calls out, "Pity and revenge our cause!" The flames of churches and mansions point out the way to the enemy. They embody themselves in arms—a cry is raised from north to south; the soldier listens to the sound borne on the flying breeze—it is revenge! They meet together in confidence, and demand of their leaders immediate battle—it is granted. They march for the first time, glowing with all the ardent courage of youth, burning with the revenge of more mature years, meet the enemy, and give them fight. A Warren, then first in glory, points out the road to victory, and after wings his flight to worlds of bliss. The foe is repulsed three successive times; three successive times is the battle renewed, each bringing with it new vigor and redoubled slaughter. Their ammunition fails—their general is gone—thence discouraged and disordered, they prudently retreat to the lawns of Cambridge.

When congress had received the fatal news of Warren's death, and the unsuccessful but honorable resistance that had been made, a confusion of fear and astonishment overspread every countenance, and every heart tottered from its centre. The pulse of vital government stood still, and ceased to beat the note of the passing moment. All is silent, solemn and mournful, ominous of some important event. At this crisis of despondency, a gleam of hope illumes the face of Franklin, the precursor of Washington. It is observed by all—they are reanimated—they look up to him as an augur—his advice is a law. He rises, reverenced and respected, not for his age alone, but his wisdom in council. All eyes are upon him, all are immersed in silent attention, waiting the dictum of this oracle. He speaks of their situation, their losses, their resources, the probability

of success in arms with an able general to command. They are in suspense, as to whom he intended nominating. He at last speaks of a man strong in years, tried in war, great in peace, fond of his country, and firmly attached to her interests and rights. It is Washington, the savior of his country, and messiah of America! He is unanimously chosen commander in chief of their armies. He appears at their bar with all that great elegant simplicity, that manly grace, and native majesty, which always command admiration—thanks them for the great trust and confidence they had reposed in him, and assures them that while he implores divine aid and assistance, that his own strenuous exertions towards establishing their independence and respectability as a nation, shall never be relaxed. The grand sword is once more handed down from the armory, and given to its known companion, to wield once more in battle. He proceeds to Boston, to command his brothers in glory, with the prayers of freemen descending on his head, for his preservation in the hour of danger, and success in his great but arduous undertaking. On him, as an axis, all their rights and interests turn. The waiting eyes of all America are upon him. Europe admires, while amazement confounds her. The enemy know of his appointment: they fear his abilities—his name is an host. On the second day of July, 1775, he arrives at his destined place. His presence obliterates the just now uneasy sensations that had settled on the minds of the late unfortunate but brave in fight. They think that under him they can conquer, that with him they can die. They contemplate regularity in arms, a profusion of necessaries for the soldiers life, a sufficiency of warlike instruments, so essential as a spur to courage, and from the want of which they had met with a recent defeat. The commander in chief considers them as a machine, with which he must work at his appointed occupation; he adds to this inspired determined courage, discipline and order. His time is devoted to arrangements, and the organizing those brave but unpolished sons of freedom. The work is great and momentous—he wants aid—none to be found. Perseverance supplies the defect of it. Those hours which nature allotted to rest are employed.

Methinks I see the venerable hero, at the midnight hour, sitting in his tent, when all but himself, and his faithful centry, are drowning their cares and sorrows in balmy slumbers—the little taper, hanging from the arched roof, discovers his pensive attitude, deeply engaged in planning operations for the ensuing day. I see him rising at the sound of the morning trump, wearied with multiplicity of cares, and perplexed with thought, visiting his forces, executing his night-made plans, harranguing his men, pointing out to them their duties as citizen soldiers, the blessings of a continuance of their freedom, and the sad, horrid consequences of a failure in their glorious struggle. I see them leave him, and return at his solicitation. I see them emaciated, and reduced with sickness, receiving his attention and fatherly kindness, comforting and consoling them in their various and numerous distresses. I see him discharge an army of 30,000 men, and recruit another, within musket shot of an enemy, furnished with every necessary military convenience, commanded by generals and officers grown old in service, fraught with experience, great in numbers and well trained. I see this army of monsters, terrified by his industry, boldness, courage, depth of management, retire from the heights to the town of Boston. I see them, alarmed by the thunder of freedom's artillery, depart from their place of refuge—an exploit, performed by men laboring through a tempestuous cold winter, contending with the stings of hunger, sickness, fatigue, and their family affections and attachments, unrivalled in history, never before done by man or men.—What conducted to this? Love of country, and zeal in her cause. Thus we find, that no considerations whatever can draw men, when in pursuit of such noble purposes, from the line of rectitude and straight conduct.

In this last situation he had the honor of being the first mover of an expedition, which excited great curiosity and astonishment, and encreased his military lustre and character as an officer, in the opinions of the enemy. But, alas! it deprived the country of the great and valiant Montgomery. Here he was consulted by congress on all business of importance. Here he laid that base upon which he bullt the courage and spirit of

his army ; a superstructure that will command the admiration of distant time. Here he appears as a great comet, shewing itself in the solar system, after an absence of many years, rolling through the vast space of ether, with its own unborrowed velocity and splendor, attracting the notice of every one. Here he brings to light and military knowledge his brothers in arms, hitherto veiled in the gloomy mist of ignorance. Having secured his victory and advantages, gained with cautious and provident steps, he pursues the enemy to their supposed place of retreat, and there awaits their arrival. The enemy arrives—he meets and gives them battle , but fortune, who hitherto favored, leaves, and declares victory to be against him. Having secured a retreat, under the auspices of a guardian heaven, he retires to Jersey, after making frequent attempts ; but, alas ! all in vain, to cope with the foe. He is pursued—success fails in all quarters—his soldiers are discouraged, poorly compensated ; people of the country drawn from their allegiance to the cause, their royal affections reviving—treasury exhausted, no means of supplying it, public credit lost ; ammunition, arms, necessaries of life, scarcely to be procured ; traitors surrounding him, snares laid for his destruction, government losing confidence in him, snares laid for his destruction, government losing confidence in him, a rival in the command, northern and southern armies to direct ; a crouded hospital poorly attended, demanding his most strenuous and humane exertions ; manœuvres and motions of an enemy, superior in numbers, to observe and watch ; and, in particular, party animosity and disputes in the bosom of his encampment !

Here we see the great man—here we see the illustrious Washington, in his true light, and exalted point of view. Firm in his resolves—buoyed up by that support which hope and his strength of mind afforded—undismayed at the gathering storm, apparently about to descend with all its violence and terrors—placing his trust in that Supreme Director of all armies, and looking with an aching eye upon the approaching convulsions of his country. Let me ask you, if there was a man at that time, when placed in his situation, that would not have desponded, and given up all hope of success ? View him in the

light that I have done (which every person must admit is a proper one) and consider for one minute his situation, and you will willingly conclude with me, that this would have been the case. Then, admitting this, we must be indebted to him for all we have, possess and enjoy.

Retreating with 1,500 men, before a pursuing army of 30,000, he crosses the Delaware, takes a position, from which he reconnoiters a detached part of them at Trenton. Finding every thing favorable, and agreeable to his plan, he collects his small but determined band of patriots, in a dark, dreary, cold, dismal night of winter, when the falling tempest seized with chilling numbness upon their almost naked bodies, wearing only the tattered remnants of what once was the uniform of better times; recrosses the river, contending with mountains of floating ice, formidable and dangerous from the impetuosity of the current, the precipitancy of the snow, hurled and driven by an eastern wind. They silently approach their intended Thermopylæ, obscured under the cover of the storm, attack the enemy, who make but a feeble resistance, and surrender—1000 of Germania's forces, together with him who fought on the plains of Saxony, submit to the superior prowess of Washington!

How noble did he appear when combating with the elements and man at the same time! How grand when waving his sword in the fleecy air, and pointing out the road to victory, fame, and freedom! This event leads to another equally as great, that contributed to give the grand turn to American affairs, and taught enemies to respect the name of him, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"—it is the battle of Princeton. Horrid and dreadful is the fight! Heros upon heros fall. He is first in rank, and first in danger. The plain of the muses becomes the field of action upon which Americans contend for their just and lawful property. The enemy is vanquished, and retires before the sword of pursuing vengeance. Mercer and Hazelet, great in war, now sleep in death, so nobly earned. Here where science reared her towering head, and held converse with her votaries, now laid the bodies of those who had fallen victims at the altar of liberty. Here, where oft

the student walked in all his glory, now laid the great in death. In that solemn temple, dedicated to wisdom and piety, where oft the sons of science sent up the mattin and evening song, to the throne of heaven, were no more heard the profane revilings and lascivious songs of an abandoned foe. Washington having acquired victory, retires with heavy and distressed heart from the field, destitute of his favorites, his brothers in a trying, glorious cause. These successes heightened the brilliancy of his fame, gained us the alliance of a great and powerful monarch, brought foreigners of military knowledge and integrity to join us in arms, elevated the soldier drooping under his burthen of duties and misfortunes, recruited his army, and stopped his country in her rapid passage to that vortex of ruin to which she had been long verging.

We can trace him from the heights of Morris-town to the siege of York, and we shall find him invariably the same, whether in prosperity or adversity, conquest or defeat, studying the interest and welfare of America. At the latter place, where he and La Fayette, the adopted son of Columbia, wrested the victorious palm and war-worn laurel from the aged brow of him who since the conquest of India gained, he terminates his career, having secured the liberty and freedom of half the world, and acquired the name of father and deliverer of his country. Brutus rescued from Tarquin a small state—Washington from a George the third half the globe. Xerxes marched to battle with one million of soldiers, and was conquered—Washington with fifteen hundred, and gained a victory: the one fought to enslave, the other to free. Timoleon was first in Corinth—Washington in America. We had a Demosthenes in an Adams, a Lycurgus in a Franklin.

Father and deliverer of his country! what sweetness dwells in this name—a name sounded by million-tongued fame, through her golden trump, into distant worlds. The sooty African, that traverses Niger's sandy waste—the Algerine, desperate in fight—the half-lived Laplander—the Arabian, swift as the wind—the Scythian—the inoffensive Bramins,—have all heard it, and when mentioned revere it.

After the elapse of this event, we see him in a truly great and admirable way, improving his glory, and dissipating the suspicions of sordid, selfish envy, by disbanding his army when the country is evacuated by the enemy, and going forward with a conscious dignity that arises from having done well, to that power which had called him into service, resigning that commission which they had delegated to his care, and which he had faithfully discharged.—Then we beheld American gratitude. Not an eye on that occasion was dry—not a heart that was not overflowing with love and affection for the victorious veteran. Then he lived in the hearts of his countrymen. Then every bosom was a monument, a faithful recorder of his merit. This conduct allayed the suspicions of those who supposed him an aspiring Cæsar, an ambitious Cromwell. It convinced them that he fought not for monopoly, for empire despotic, for fame; but for man's rights and justice. He retires once more to his favorite abode, entitled the enterprizing, the intelligent, the great general, the prudent, the virtuous man. How much more eligible is fame of this kind, untarnished, unsullied by the blood of the innocent, and not a trait of it tinged by an act of oppression on the unhappy poor of our own country, than that acquired by an Alexander of Macedon, and those generals of the Roman government, who swam through seas of human blood, waded through destruction and devastation, to worship at the shrine of fame. His retirement affords its usual delights and amusements, and opens to his enquiring mind new measures salutary to the infirm state of the country, and essential to the perpetuation of its freedom. The different states, as to their connections and views, were frequently clashing, and sometimes a prospect of all being destroyed that had been with so much difficulty obtained. The union he considered as a remedy that would effect the wished-for end, and consolidate the interests of the whole into one general body. With this view he hastens it. He calls upon his fellow-citizens to join in grand convention, and accomplish it at once, as a sure means of preserving what they had just acquired. He is obeyed. Internal discord, the worst of fiends, just raising her serpent head, retires at his command, and all is peace. He joins the convention, as a father to guard his family, and watch their behavior; as such he is

adored and respected, and as their chief personage and head, places his name and signature to that constitution, which afterwards, under his own administration, produced those consequences he had so long anticipated. Having secured the union of a great people—having taught that their individual interests should be the interests of the whole—having enjoined his colleagues to abide by their respective resolutions, to consider the constitution as the palladium of national security and liberty, as the indissoluble bond of union, as the master-piece of mental architecture, as a great good that they had derived from many evils, as a memento of the precious blood that had been spilled as the price of it—he withdraws with heart-felt satisfaction, and if possible more great and valuable than ever in the minds of the people. The constitution now formed, and commencing its operations, let future ages, when perusing the page of history, (that faithful record of the events of time) be astonished, when it says, that he was twice called to fill the chief executive department under it—unanimously chosen by three millions of freemen !

Let the love his country possessed for him—the faith and confidence they placed in him—the obedience he passively commanded, strike dumb the tyrant who sits enthroned on the destroyed privileges and liberties of his subjects. Let him reflect that Washidgton effected by a word, what he must by an army. Let him reflect that Washington's nightly slumbers were never disturbed by the noise of a surrounding guard, or the screams of an affrighted conscience. Let him be told that United America was his centinel, and that heavenly visions, floating on the dreams of fancy, soothed his mind in rest, after the honest labors of the day.

In this station he discovers the statesman, the sound politician, and impartial ruler. He governs the people, subject to the constitution—forms alliances—his generals subdue a savage enemy—he extends the circulation of commerce—encourages beneficial institutions—lends a parental hand to every thing that embraces the country's good—contends with the intrigues and artful machinations of the emissaries of an insidious, faithless nation—cements the union by his advice and counsel. The sa-

tisfaction that accrued therefrom, must be known to you all. Almost worn out in the service of his country, he wishes to spend the remainder of an ebbing life in that retirement he had so often left to gratify his fellow-citizens, and not his own ambition. Finding her in the meridian of greatness and prosperity, he presses his solicitation, and it is granted. He commits the care of the national ship, and the guiding of its helm, to his experienced and wise fellow-mariner, by whose assistance he had navigated her through a revolutionary storm, and brought her to the destined port of peace and tranquillity. He again retires to Vernon's pleasing charms, to feast on luxuries and dainties that oft have been the theme of the enraptured poet, and such as man partook of in the golden age.

But his career is not ended—he has not yet ran his race of glory—he has not reached the jail. When a prospect of danger is seen from that power which has deluged Europe in blood, which has spread misery and woe to every corner of the habitable globe, his country once more looks up to him for protection. So long accustomed to obey, he forgets how to deny, and once more becomes our shield, our buckler, and rampart of safety, against which the artillery of conquest must play in vain. We are safe, we are secure, we are inaccessible; we repose ourselves in quietness and ease, and drink deep of the cup of self-satisfaction. But, alas! how short-lived are these enjoyments. This much-valued fortress has been assailed, and levelled by the armies of death, who of all enemies alone is invincible; and against whom man, powerful in strength, and great in his own mightiness, cannot stand. With his breath he sweeps thousands into eternity, and at his command nations fall, and monarchs resign their sceptres. O, man! where is thy boasted power, that oppresseth the poor, and bindeth down the pitiless child of sorrow? Where is thy fame, honors and glories, raised upon thy slaughtered thousands and tens of thousands? In a few years all will be forgotten, and decayed with thee in the dust!

In contemplating this man in his public character, the mind of the aspiring wretch is brought to its true level, and a sense

of the inconsistency of self-importance, and those pursuits that debase and vilify humanity. Nothing could ever deter him from rectitude, or the execution of acts set in motion by virtuous principles. Vanity and pride could never persuade him to think himself superior to his duty or fellow-mortals, nor could ambition influence him to prostrate the liberties of his country. Frequently has she enchantingly smiled upon him, and pointed out the throne, the crown, the grandeur, the elegance and splendor of state, and invited him to accept of them as a tribute from her, due to his superiority over mortal man. All to no purpose were her alluring, cunning, artful guiles. Substantial fame, built not on the gewdaws of the world, was his object—his throne was in the affections of his fellow-citizens, and his grandeur and splendour in plainness and the common elegancies of the country. The processions and triumphs that elevated the generals of antient Rome, the civic laurels that graced their consuls, and since far-famed magistrates of later times, he never sought, but always shunned. He considered them as incentives of a lesser kind to promote the elevation of virtuous and honest acts, and as baubles that vanished with the day. Modesty, meekness, humility, politeness, and respect for the opinions and feelings of other men, always characterized his official conduct. But one particular feature, that shines with superior beauty and lustre, is his adherence to the religion of his ancestors with uniformity. On all times, when his business permitted, his heart dwelt in secret with itself, surveyed its thoughts, its duties, its acts, and brought itself home, as it were, to the great Supreme. Will it be detracting his merit, or throwing a cloud over his sun-shine of glory, to say, that in his public duties he was actuated by it, and the ideas consequent thereto, of a future and of an immortal state? or will it be telling an untruth? No! he prided in being a man, the first of the creation, and next to none but God. Hence he has uniformly acted up to that dignity, required by reason of every individual. How elegant, how sublime, does he appear in religion! How conspicuous and dignified in devotion!—In them we behold a mirror, that reflects his beauties and excellencies with redoubled splendor. The atheist, the deist, may smile upon the mention of this; but let the truth of my assertion penetrate their obdurate, cal-

lous hearts, and bring them to conviction, and a sincere, devout repentance. Whenever any of you wish to disbelieve, recollect instantaneously that the greatest and best of men supported that very cause from which you are drawing your fidelity and allegiance, and it will shew your error. What signifies all the pleasures and amusements that the voracious man can possess, and what do they avail him, unaccompanied with this the mother of all virtues? It is all vanity, when weighed in the balance of the discerning mind, and honor without it is but a name. In his domestic retirement, all the qualifications of the husband, endeared him to his amiable, but now widowed, aged consort. All the affections of his bosom were occupied by his country and surrounding relatives.—The benevolent and humane disposition of his heart were extended to his domestics, and nothing was left undone to ameliorate their condition. Complacent and agreeable to his neighbors; in company dignified, polished, jocose and familiar; where merit claimed he knew no distinction, and to all alike was sociable. The economical, industrious farmer—the punctual, the honest dealer, the charitable, just, humane man.

Ye affectionate matrons, teach your little babes to lisp the name of Washington, and listen to the melodious accents coming from their angel tongues. Ye *fair* of our country, chaunt hymns and anthems to the memory of him who protected you from the poignant of an assassin foe, when resting in the bosoms of your worthy and respected mothers. Ye fathers, ye youth, that are now present, view in him the great example, the great pattern of human nature, from which you all can borrow, and safely copy. When you wish your children or young relatives to approximate to perfection, set him before them, paint his virtues and unexampled character in the most glowing colours; tell them of his greatness, the esteem and love his country bore him, and thence raise in their panting breasts the generous purpose of emulation. Set yourselves the precedent, and precept combined with it will have the desired effect. In this manner you can immortalize, and rescue him from that oblivion so common to the grave. O, America! thy sun of glory has set forever, below the gloomy horizon of life! The fairest flower in

thy garden is withered, by the cold, contracting frost of time! The most brilliant gem has fallen from thy crown! Thy first-born is no more! his eyes are closed in everlasting sleep—he has ceased to sorrow—his days were days of trouble—he resteth from his labors—his soul is in the world of departed spirits of heroes, and among his fathers—his body is with us, a testimony of his absence—his actions are on record, to ornament the historic page of our country, and as an example for rising generations.

When common characters slide from the stage of life, those with whom they are connected cannot but feel emotions of regret, and pour forth nature's tears, as expressive of their grief and sense of loss. Then must we be less sensible? Must we not sympathize with our brethren, and fellow-citizens at large, when so great a personage, connected to us by so many ties, has ceased to act any longer his illustrious part in the drama of life? Yes, we must weep, we must mourn, we must condole with his family, and much lamented, aged relic. It is manly, and shews the man, the noble heart of sensibility. Invisibly and insensibly he points himself out as adequate to the performance of the most feeling tasks of private and public society. You that are present, and have been witnesses to his exploits in the field, transactions in the cabinet, and benevolent acts towards the destitute widows and orphans of our departed brothers, must justify my assertion.

Brothers! he is gone—he has left us in the lodge prepared for us—he has given us his blessing—he has enjoined us to practise the duties of our association, to continue united, and as one upon all occasions to act. He remembered the grand road of harmony in which he often walked with us, the line of behavior he himself pursued, the happiness arising therefrom, and therefore would be more ardent in his direction for our so doing. Methinks I hear him from the bed of languishing, address his country—Peace, union and prosperity attend you; suppress division, cherish harmony, friendship, and watch your rights and liberties with an eagle eye; be not too suspicious of each other, and let the welfare of your country be your pri-

mary object; guard against foreign influence, and in your distant connections act the impartial part. This is my advice. I know the value of your treasures: if you follow it you will arrive at power, greatness and respectability. Methinks I now hear him, speaking with all the tenderness of paternal affection to his surrounding family, assembled to witness the most solemn, distressing and mournful of all scenes. I hear those wholesome words of instruction, given to them, from the mouth of the dying sage—Fear your God, love your country, honour your parents, and you will live long and be happy. I see him extending his aged hand, to take the last long adieu of his dear companion. For her he almost wishes to live. He checks the thought, looks up to heaven, and says, "Father, thy will, and not mine, be done." I see that heroic fire which animated his eye, dwindling away, like a dying lamp—the glow of colour, of which age has not yet deprived his furrowed, manly cheek, fading gradually away. Alas! I see him firm and unshaken, undaunted at the terrific form of death, expire. I see his venerable corse, speaking the greatness of his just now departed spirit. I see his pure, unspotted soul, mounting on seraphic wings, ascend to its place of rest. I see myriads of angels, conducting him through vaulted skies, and welcoming the celestial stranger. I see the gates of heaven unfolding to his sight the most magnificent of all scenes, everlasting happiness, and an eternal blaze of bliss. I see him enter with that humility which accompanied him through life. I hear songs of praise, exulting of cherubim and hallelujahs to the great king of heaven.

We have indeed lost a brother; our association has been visited by death, the grand tyler of that lodge in realmns of bliss. He has summoned our brother masonry's favorite to its grand tribunal, to give an account of his workmanship and labors, and receive the glorious plaudit—"Well done, good and faithful servant."

Hence this melancholy that pervades every countenance. Hence these gloomy badges of death. Let us cease to mourn; let our tears of sorrow become those of joy; let the bright beams of gladness enliven every face, and gratitude to Him who

sits above, swell our bosoms. Venerable shade! peace attend thy silent mansion in the tomb: and wretched let him be, who, with unhallowed hands, disturbs thy sacred rest. Nature herself shall end, but for thee there is no possible bound. You shall behold the dropping of the great curtain of time, and be present when nature shall groan through all her works. "Look forward," brothers, fellow-mortals, "dart an eye beyond the present; explore the future and the unknown."—"Let neither the changes of time, nor the vicissitudes of fortune, limit your enlarged view." "In fond anticipation range the unbounded universe." Visit the seats of bliss. "Bathe in the sea of divine love, and reflect in celestial splendor the honors of the one Supreme." You shall be present with our departed brother, in that blessed lodge where all lodges are congregated, and with him behold the grandest and most terrible of scenes. The works of man you shall see then in their own insignificance. Creation shall shudder through all her powers, and "strong convulsions disjoint her frame." High and unmoved ye shall see far beneath the livid flash of forked lightning, and hear the awful thunder's repercursive roar, loud bellowing through the affrighted deep. "When new worlds in order and beauty ascend from the confusion, ye shall join the melodious choir of all the children of light," and shout for joy. To restored nature brighter suns shall roll in yonder firmament—"sweeter harmony warble among the spheres, while the intelligent creatures of God shall muse in expressive silence on their unbounded bliss." Assured of this, let then "the earth dissolve, let yonder sun be struck from its centre," and wheel in disorder through infinite space—"let the stars and planets, rushing from their orbits, clash in horrid contention,"—your immortal souls shall ascend in safety to that grand lodge above.

Now may that being, who gave him to us, to answer his own purposes, and who in his infinite wisdom has taken him to his fatherly bosom, long continue to protect and prosper our useful associations, and be a father to our fatherless, orphan country.

Funeral oration on the death of brother GEORGE WASHINGTON. *Prepared at the request of the masonic lodge, No.* 14, *of Wilmington, state of Delaware, and delivered on St. John the Evangelist's day, being the* 27*th of December, anno lucis* 5799. *By* GUNNING BEDFORD, *A. M.*

My friends and fellow-citizens,

CALLED upon by a respectable society, with whom I am connected by the ties of friendship and brotherly love, to aid them in paying funeral honors to their grand master, and the most illustrious of men, I felt all that diffidence arising from a want of abilities to do justice to so important a subject, and from the shortness of time allowed for preparation.

BUT knowing that every one could make the same excuse, though with less justice than myself; and an affectionate society and grateful people, requiring some immediate testimony of respect to be paid to the memory of the beloved Washington, I have ventured with unfeigned hesitation upon the difficult task.

To your candor I submit myself; and in the motives which have brought me here, I trust in your generous bosoms I can read an apology, for every defect which may appear in that oration I shall now deliver.

UPON an occasion the most solemn ever witnessed by America, listen to the voice of eternal truth—"It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to the house of feasting;"—for none of us "liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." *

BUT there are some men, illuminated with a purer ray of divinity—patriots of the first magnitude, who in a peculiar sense may be said to live and die, not to themselves, but to others. Endowed with that superior excellence, which does honor to our whole species, the virtuous of every nation claim kindred with

* *The exordium is principally taken from Dr. Smith's oration to the memory of Gen. Montgomery and others.*

them, and the general interests of humanity are concerned in their characters.

In veneration for such men, to exchange the accustomed walks of pleasure for the house of mourning—to bedew its sacred recesses with tears of gratitude to their memory—to strive, if possible, to catch some portion of their etherial spirit, as it mounts from this earthly sphere, into perfect union with congenial spirits above—is a laudable custom, coeval with society, and sanctioned by the example of the wisest nations.

It was the manner of the Egyptians, the fathers of arts and sciences, not only to celebrate the names, but to embalm the bodies, of their deceased heroes, that they might long be preserved in public view, as examples of virtue, and although dead yet speaking.

But this honor was not easily to be obtained, nor was it indiscriminately bestowed. It was decreed only by the public voice of a venerable assembly of judges; before whom the body of the deceased was brought for trial, and solemnly acquitted or condemned upon the evidence of the people.

Even kings themselves, however much spared when alive, for the sake of public tranquillity, had still this more than fiery ordeal before their eyes; and by the example of some of their number, who had been refused sepulchre in those very tombs which their pride had prepared to their own memory, were taught both to venerate and to dread a law which extended its punishments beyond the usual time of oblivion.

The moral of this institution was truly sublime, constantly inculcating a most important lesson, that whatever distinctions our wants and vices may render necessary, in this short and imperfect state of our being, they are all cancelled by the hand of death; and through the untried periods which succeed, virtue and beneficence will make the true distinctions, and be the only foundations of happiness and renown.

THE enlightened Athenians had an express law, appointing orations and public funerals in honor of those who gloriously sacrificed their lives to their country. Thucydides has recorded a celebrated oration of this kind, delivered by Pericles. The illustrious speaker, after a most animated description of the *amor patriæ*, the love of country, which he exalts above all human virtues, turns to the deceased—

"HAVING bestowed their lives to the public, every one of them, says he, hath received a praise that will never die—a sepulchre which will always be most illustrious; not that in which their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their fame is preserved. The whole world is the sepulchre of illustrious citizens, and their inscription is written upon the hearts of all good men."

THE Romans rewarded deeds of public virtue according to their magnitude, with statues, triumphs, peculiar badges of dress at public solemnities, and songs of praise to the living as well as to the dead.

REPUBLICAN France, ever since her regeneration, has been in the practice of decreeing funeral honors and orations to those whom she has deemed worthy of them.

AND congress early in our revolution resolved, that a funeral oration should be delivered in honor of general Montgomery, and those officers and soldiers, who magnanimously fought and fell with him, in maintaining the principles of American liberty.

THIS mode of paying respect to departed heroes and patriots, seems well calculated for republican governments. They are necessarily careful of bestowing honors upon the living, but may with great safety and propriety liberally bestow them upon the dead.

IT must therefore give pleasure to every citizen of America to know, that the president of the United States, penetrated with grief for the great loss his country has sustained, and en-

tertaining the most exalted opinion of the character of the deceased, has committed " to an affectionate and grateful people, in whose hearts he can never die, to pay suitable honors to his memory."

Thy recommendation, worthy Adams, will be most faithfully obeyed, by that honorable body to whom thou hast committed the mournful trust. An affectionate and grateful people will raise a monument to his memory, which shall command the attention and respect of the world! It is already begun! the foundations are laid! America is weeping through all her forests—her towns and cities are shrouded with black, and covered with mourning—nothing is heard but the still sounds of woe, and universal condolence—all business is suspended, and an awful silence pervades our country, as if nature herself had made a pause!

Early in life this great man, whose death we now deplore, was highly distinguished by his country. In seventeen hundred and fifty-four, he held the commission of colonel in the service of Virginia, in the war then carried on by Great-Britain and the colonies against the French and Indians.

In fifty-five he gave a striking instance of that disinterestedness which afterwards characterized all his actions. By a royal arrangement of rank, no officer who did not derive his commission immediately from the king, could command one who did. Colonel Washington cheerfully relinquished his regiment, and accompanied general Braddock, as an extra aid-de-camp.

In this capacity he rendered the most important service, by extricating the troops from the fatal ambuscade, which cost the life of general Braddock, most of his officers, and the discomfiture of the whole army. In covering the retreat, and saving the wreck of this army, he displayed the greatest abilities. The public prints in Britain and America, were full of applauses for the essential service he had rendered upon so trying an occasion.

The regulation of rank being afterwards settled, to the satisfaction of the colonial officers, Virginia, impressed with a due sense of his merits, gave him an extensive commission to command all the troops raised or to be raised in that colony. In this character he continued to defend and protect the frontiers, with the greatest skill and bravery, and commanded the van brigade of general Forbs's army at the capture of Fort du Quesne, in fifty-eight.

Tranquillity being restored on the frontiers of the middle colonies, and colonel Washington's health having materially suffered, by incessant fatigue and unremitted attention to duty, in fifty-nine he resigned his military appointment. Authentic documents exhibit the tender regret which the Virginia line expressed at parting with their commander, and the affectionate regard which he entertained for them.

Amidst the numerous great lights which civil calamity produced in our country, during her struggle for liberty and independence, Washington shone with distinguished lustre, and rose pre-eminently above the rest.

Blest with the most commanding figure—a dignity which forcibly impressed all beholders—a complacency of manners—a mind highly cultivated, and stored with knowledge—and a military fame so honorably acquired; he seemed formed by nature for great and glorious deeds, and pointed out by the hand of Deity to America, as her revolutionary chief.

It would be incompatible with our present design, to mention in detail the various plans he devised, or the systems he pursued to protect and defend our country during a seven years' war, against a most powerful enemy. They are fresh in the memory of many of us, and recorded in the annals of America for the information of all. Suffice it in this place to say, he surmounted more difficulties than any other general ever encountered—his attention to discipline, raised our army to respectability and renown—his vigilance and prudence, defeated all the plans and devices of the enemy—his valor and military knowledge ex-

cited the wonder and commanded the admiration of all. A father to his soldiers, he endured in common with them all the fatigues of war, in summer's heat and winter's cold. A brave commander, he always seized the most proper moment to attack the foe; but when inferior in force, and subjected to privations which rendered action imprudent, Fabius-like he eluded them by the most judicious movements, 'till they in their turn were reduced by casualties and drawn from their resources—then, sudden as the unexpected whirlwind, would they behold Washington before them, to their terror, confusion and defeat!

HERE let me borrow the animated description of a French officer of great celebrity as a soldier and a philosopher, who served under him: *—"Brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous without severity; he seems always to have confined himself within those limits, where the virtues by clothing themselves in more lively but more changeable colours, may be mistaken for faults. Let it be repeated, that Conde was intrepid, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit, Catinet disinterested. It is not thus Washington will be characterized. It will be said of him, at the end of a long civil war, he had nothing with which he could reproach himself. If any thing can be more marvellous than such a character, it is the unanimity of the public suffrages in his favor. Soldier, magistrate, people, all love and admire him: all speak of him in terms of tenderness and the highest veneration."

BEHOLD, then, this illustrious general, having by his valor and prudence conducted us as a "pillar of cloud" by day, and a "pillar of fire" by night, to a happy and honorable peace, humbly bending before congress, in seventeen hundred and eighty-three, surrounded by a numerous concourse of citizens, and resigning his commission, accompanied with the following pathetic address. See appendix, p. 77.

IT is easier to conceive than express the effect such a solemn scene had upon those who beheld it. Tears gush from every

* *The marquis de Chastelleux.*

eye—their bosoms swell with the generous glow of the most fervent gratitude and affection—while congress, impressed with the magnitude of the act, in faultering accents assure him, they receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which he had led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war. They tell him, he had accepted the sacred charge of defending his country's rights, before any alliances were formed, and when we were without funds, or a government to support him—that he had conducted the great military contest, with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes—that he had displayed the martial genius of his fellow-citizens, and transmitted their fame to posterity—that in defending the standard of liberty in this new world, he had taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression—that he retires from the great theatre of action with the blessings of his country—that the glory of his virtues will not terminate with his military command, but will continue to animate the remotest ages. They join with him in commending the interests of their common country, to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And address the throne of grace in earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all its care—that his days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he finally may receive that reward, which the world cannot give!

This great scene can only be heightened by the reflection, that this hero, thus beloved by all, and almost adored by his army, buoyed above the axioms of interest and ambition, which govern most men, resolved, by the most magnanimous sacrifice, to put it out of his own power to make use of their affections to promote the one, or of his rank to advance the other.

The world looked with astonishment and admiration, at so disinterested and noble an action.

THE good sense of America, having convinced them of the inefficacy of the first instrument of their confederacy, a great convention of the states is called, to new-model the league. Washington presides in this venerable assembly—and by his great weight and influence, added to the labors of others, our present constitution was produced.

THE current of the affections of the people, had so long sat towards this beloved man, and his great and illustrious deeds having swelled it to a mighty stream, they look forward with joy to the opportunity, which was about to be presented to them, of making a noble display of that gratitude which had swollen their bosoms, and was now ready to overflow.

WASHINGTON is called by the unanimous suffrages of a great and free people, to take the chair of supreme magistracy.

THE bright sun of American happiness then shone with meridian splendor! The protector—the defender—the political savior of their country, was now to direct the helm of state, and every man felt himself safe and secure under his guidance. Hitherto loved as a soldier, now adored as a statesman—clothed with the power of the United States, and looking with native majesty in his exalted seat, he seemed "a wall of fire round about us," and a "glory in the midst of us!"

THE wisest establishments arose—the most wholesome provisions were made, for the peace, safety and prosperity of our country—commerce flourished—agriculture was improved, and every art encouraged. Our name rose with lustre upon the European world. They admired—but they envied us. They could not behold the rising glory of America without jealousy.

THE time limited by the constitution for the continuance in office of the president, at length expires. But the fountains of gratitude, fixed deep in the inmost recesses of the heart, being ever inexhaustible, and now replenished by the merits of a four years' labor and service devoted to the best interests of his

country, a faithful people again cry out, with one voice—All hail, president Washington!

These instances of the affection and confidence of his country, so often repeated, fortified his mind against the difficulties that were to ensue.

France had proceeded far in her new organization, and assumed the appearance of a regular government. She was first welcomed by Washington, in the name of America, as a sister republic. We considered her contest for freedom, congenial with that which we had accomplished. She gained upon our affections, and we felt an interest in every thing that regarded her happiness, and ultimate success. But, alas! ambition grew out of her victories; and instead of confining herself within the limits prescribed by her antient kingdom, she extended her conquests abroad, encouraged revolution every where, and seemed to aim at universal domination.

The pure mind of Washington, which had long studied and perfectly understood the rights of man and of nations, beheld with regret the virtuous struggle of twenty-five millions of people to rescue themselves from slavery, converted by the arts and intrigues of designing leaders, to the wild enthusiasm and extravagance of universal emancipation from government and law. Insidious measures were taken to involve this country in the vortex of European politics. England, jealous of our attachment to republican principles, and counting upon our partiality to France, made great depredations upon our commerce; and every thing seemed to announce an approaching war.

Our government having taken the dignified attitude of neutrality, was willing to hold the scales even, and do equal justice to the contending nations. But we are threatened from without, and assailed from within—The whisper of corruption is heard!

In the midst of these conflicting dangers, the steady, intrepid Washington, who had so often exposed his life for his coun-

try, and was always ready to lay it down for her service, was now even willing to risk a reputation more dear than life, to secure her peace and prosperity. With a magnanimity truly heroic, collecting all the energies of his great mind, and pursuing the principles which had invariably governed his whole life, *to do what he thought was right*, he signs a treaty with Great-Britain.

It would be highly improper to discuss the merits of this measure here. We ought to be satisfied in knowing and believing, that through the whole tenor of the most important life, which had been open to the inspection of all, he never decided upon one public act, without the most mature consideration, the fullest conviction of its propriety, and having the best interests of his country always at heart.

Who can now possibly calculate, or who ever could with any certainty calculate, what might be the situation of this country at the present moment, if that treaty had not been concluded? Instead of that peace which we have thus long enjoyed, our commerce might have been ruined, our sea-port towns burnt and destroyed, and our sea-coast an howling desart!——But I forbear.

Considerations like these ought ever to have closed the mouth of censure, and checked the clamor of party. If it has arose against the sacred name of Washington, what future character can escape its baneful influence!

Oh, my fellow-citizens! on this mournful occasion, while mingling my tears with yours over the tomb of this most excellent of men, my heart is rent at the anticipated evils and calamities, that inevitably await our beloved country, if this spirit of discontent, jealousy and party, is not discountenanced and suppressed. Why will ye yourselves, elevate men to the most dignified and important situations, and then suffer their bosoms to be wounded with calumny, and their spirits to be harrassed with continual distrust? Is not the constitution, the constitution of your own free choice? Are not the men who administer the government the men of your own free choice? Are not their times

of service limited to a short period? and do they not then return into the mass of citizens, to meet your censure, or receive your applause? Are not these sufficient securities for your liberties, and a wise and faithful administration?

The murmurs of discontent soon swell into party; party rises into faction, and faction hath hitherto broke out into insurrection. The strong arm of Washington is no more—the steady and decisive Adams, will one day also be added to his fathers. When the sword of the laws shall fall into feebler hands, and the people array themselves into more equal and more violent parties; who can answer that intestine commotion, civil war, and the destruction of our government, will not be the probable consequence?

Reflect, I beseech you, in time! Let us unite in calming the minds of our countrymen—in healing the wounds party hath already made; and, as the best offering to the manes of our departed friend and benefactor, let us bring all our political contentions, at this solemn moment, and bury them forever in his grave!—His beneficent spirit will look down with complacence upon the sacrifice, and accept it as the best tribute to his memory.

This great man, at length worn down by the incessant fatigue of public employments, solicits his fellow-citizens to suffer him to retire; and to spare him the pain of refusing to obey their voice, by not calling him again from his retreat. He prays them to select some other character among those, whom his generous diffidence assures them, are equally, if not better qualified than himself, to direct the reins of government.

Gratitude for his past labors—love and veneration for his virtues, and a conviction that his years required repose, induce America to comply with his request.

A second time we see this illustrious character, disrobing himself of the insignia of public office; now voluntarily descending from the seat of state, and joyfully mixing with his fellow-citizens as a private man!—Yet he could not leave a peo-

ple who had so long been the objects of his vigilance, attention and care, without still some further evidence of his esteem—— Behold the memorial * of his love and affection! It is the farewell address of president Washington! Precious legacy! Read it, my countrymen—treasure up its precepts in your hearts. Its contents are the result of the experience of a life dedicated to your service, with the best means of acquiring a knowledge of human nature, of government, and the intrigues of courts. If properly attended to, and followed, it will be worth more to America than the wealth of the Indies.

We now see this good man in the bosom of his family, improving his favorite seat; surrounded with domestic bliss, and enjoying that repose which he had so long wished for, and which his feeling heart was so well fitted to relish.

One would think nothing could ever draw him from this retirement, so necessary to his peace and declining years—and that it would be almost ungrateful to ask it. But our country had not yet attained to that state of tranquillity which his wishes had fondly hoped. In despite of the wise and honorable policy pursued by our government, we are again alarmed from abroad. The turbulent waves of war roll across the Atlantic towards our coast, and threaten to break upon our shores. Active measures of defence are taking, and an army is raising. All eyes look anxiously around for a commander, and the good genius of America still directs them to Washington. Delicacy almost forbids the approach. The wise Adams hesitates to make the request: But the venerable hero meets the wishes of his country,—I come, he cries, to devote the remainder of my life to your service, if I can do any more good.——He did thus devote it; for in the character of commander in chief of the armies of the United States, he ended his days.

What a noble example of humility, disregard of personal ease, and enthusiastic love of country! Thrice has he exhibited

* *Here the farewell address was held up to the view of the audience.*

to America, the most exalted proofs of disinterestedness and magnanimity! and thrice has he astonished the world! *

To all the distinguished features which characterize the illustrious man, he also added a probity of heart which has never been equalled, and a modest diffidence in his own abilities, which gave the highest finish to his exalted virtues.

HEAR this moving language, in his address to the people of the United States. See appendix, p. 33.

EVEN in his last moments too! as if every act of his life was to become instructive, and every word a precept, he inculcates the most important lesson upon mankind—"I do not fear death; I have made my will, my affairs are in good order, and my public business only two days behind."—With calmness, he resigns himself into the hands of his creator—with composure he falls asleep in death!

WELL may the voice of lamentation be heard throughout our land! never had a country so much cause for mourning! Well may we cry out, "O! that our heads were waters, and our eyes fountains of tears," that we might continually weep over so irreparable a loss! Never can we again witness so solemn an occasion to call forth universal sorrow. But once in eighteen centuries, hath so perfect a character appeared to adorn the world! Happy the future age, that can boast of such a man! And thrice happy America, which gave birth to so illustrious a citizen!—Compared with him, the renowned sages of antiquity—the mighty princes of the earth—and the great conquerors of the world—all shrink back, and yield him a most just pre-eminence.

To abler orators, I leave a more particular description of the numerous and varied virtues of this great man. By them his

* *Alluding to his resigning the command of the revolutionary army at the end of the war—his refusing to continue as president of the United States—and his afterwards acting in the subordinate character of commander of the armies.*

praise will be sounded much further than my feeble voice can reach. The faithful page of history will record his fame. There it shall live, while the smallest vestiges of literature remain upon earth—yea, 'till " the cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples, this great globe itself, and all which it inherit, shall dissolve, and like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wreck behind." Nor shall it perish then—but being the immediate care of heaven, " the great archangel, when he sweeps suns and systems from their place, and kindles up their last fires, stretching forth his mighty arm, shall snatch the deathless scroll from the devouring conflagration, and place it among the archives of eternity."

One further circumstance must not be omitted, in justice to that society who have honored me with this place, and whose boast it is that Washington was their grand master. To the fashionable philosophers of the present day, it may appear of little consequence, but upon this foundation are built all our works.

To the character of hero and patriot, this good man added that of christian. All his public communications breathe a pure spirit of piety, a resignation to the will of heaven, and a firm reliance upon the providence of God. In those atchievements which redounded most to his reputation, we hear him exclaiming with king David, " Not unto us, not unto us, O! Lord, but to thy name be the honor and praise." Although the greatest man upon earth, he disdained not to humble himself before his God, and to trust in the mercies of Christ. He regularly attended in the temples of the Most High, and joined with his fellow mortals, in paying adoration to the Supreme Governor of the universe, and in supplicating blessings for his country, and pardon and forgiveness for himself——For thyself, christian hero and patriot! thy prayers have been heard. Thy blessed spirit hath ascended from this terrestrial orb, to mingle with congenial spirits above! There thou wilt indeed receive thy best reward! There thou wilt drink of those rivers of joy and gladness, that flow from the right hand of the throne of God! There thou wilt be welcomed by the whole host of heaven!—

Oh ! that we had angels' wings, that we might follow him, and witness his joyful reception into those blest abodes !—Behold the gates of heaven are thrown wide open ! See the band of heroes and martyrs in their country's cause, rushing out to meet their chief, and welcoming him to immortal glory ! See the venerable train of patriots, sages and statesmen, advancing to bid him hail, to mansions of eternal peace and rest ! Angels and archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand glorified spirits, tune their harps at his approach, and the great vault of heaven resounds with one universal song of " Hosanna to the Highest !"—" Come, come, thou blessed of" our " Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you, from the foundation of the world !"

Oh ! that we may all " die the death of the righteous, and may our latter end be like his !"

We, my brothers, lamenting in common with our fellow-citizens, over the grave of this great and good man, yet feel his loss peculiarly afflicting to us, in the relation he stood to our lodges.

Although high and exalted in character and rank, yet he always walked upon the LEVEL with a brother. Although particularly attached to this his native country, which had so loved and honored him, yet his extensive benevolence embraced the great CIRCLE of mankind. In all his actions he was governed by the SQUARE of doing unto others as he would wish they should do unto him ; and he ever kept within the COMPASS of good will to all men.

He was indeed a great light, sent to us by the Grand Master above, to illuminate our darkness here below. But it has pleased Divine Providence to call him back from houses built with clay, to " mansions not built with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Those eyes which have looked with so much pleasure upon a brother, are now closed in death. Those ears which have listened with so much attention to their complaints, are now stop-

ped in dust. And those hands which have been so often extended to relieve their wants and distress, will never be raised more.

Let us, then, seeing that death cometh alike unto all men, improve this solemn instance of mortality. Let us be up and doing the work of our hands, while it is yet day, before the night of death overtake us, in which no man can work. Let us embrace the present moment, to provide for that great change, when the pleasures of this world shall cease to delight, and the reflections of a life spent in the exercise of virtue and piety, yield the only comfort and consolation.

Let us copy the bright example of this our most beloved brother, and by a sacred regard to his memory, and our own solemn engagements, pursue with unremitted assiduity, the tenets of our profession. Let us feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the sick and the afflicted; do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God. Then shall we be able to silence "the tribe of scorners, and to convince them, the only qualities we wish to honor, are those which form good men and good citizens; and the only buildings we seek to raise, are temples for virtue and dungeons for vice."

Finally, let us with becoming reverence, supplicate the throne of grace, that we may secure the favor of that Eternal Being, whose goodness and power knoweth no bounds. Thus shall our expectation not be disappointed, nor shall we be hurried unprepared into the presence of that awful Judge, to whom the secrets of all hearts are known; but may entertain the humble hope, that after we have performed our weary pilgrimage here below, we shall each of us be received into the great temple above, with the cheering salutation, "Well done thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joys of thy Lord!"

Oh! thou great and mighty I AM! who said, Let there be light—and there was light! who spoke this world into being, by the word of thy mouth, and who disposeth of all events here below, as to thee in thy wisdom seemeth best! Look down in

compassion, we humbly beseech thee! upon the sorrows of a whole people! May their sighs and tears, come up before thy throne, as an acceptable sacrifice at the shrine of virtue! Although thou hast wrote bitter things against us, yet let us never distrust thy providence! In six troubles thou hast delivered us, and in seven thou wilt not forsake us!

RAISE up, oh, Supreme Architect! for our distrest lodges, another LIGHT, which shall be as a fire in the midst of us, and a glory round about us!—And oh! for our country, Heavenly Father! raise up another Washington—one who shall be equally loved—equally admired—equally confided in; and to whom thou shalt direct the eyes of this great nation, as thou hast done in times past, to that ever to be lamented man!

Now to the triune God, * the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed all honor and dominion, for ever more—Amen.

AMEN! So let it ever be.

After the oration, the following ELEGIAC ODE, *prepared for the occasion, was sung by a choir.*

TUNE—ADMONITION.

DESCEND, St. John, attune the plaintive lyre,
And through Columbia's regions spread abroad,
The mournful loss of her beloved sire!
Call'd to the bosom of his father, God.
The trump of fame announces his translation,
To the grand lodge of infinite duration.

* *Here the masonic body rose, and on mention of the words, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, gave the sign or symbol of divine homage and obeisance; concluding with the response,*

"AMEN! So let it ever be!"

The Master Warden summon'd him away,
On Jacob's ladder he ascends above,
To the bright regions of eternal day,
To join the chorus of redeeming love.
The trump of fame announces his translation,
To the grand lodge of infinite duration.

But can Columbians e'er forget the day,
When proud oppression bath'd our fields in gore,
Great Washington withstood the dire affray,
And swept the invaders from our ravag'd shore!
The trump of fame announces his translation,
To the great captain of his soul's salvation.

The monarch may forget his pearly crown,
The mother may forget her first-born son,
The bridegroom may forget his lovely bride,
But we'll remember thee, O Washington!
And while thy name adorns Columbia's story,
Her sons shall sound thy virtue and thy glory.

Eulogium, delivered to a large concourse of respectable citizens, at the state-house, in the town of Dover, in commemoration of the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON. *By* JOHN VINING, *Esq.*

Friends and fellow-citizens,

IT is with the greatest diffidence I rise upon the present solemn occasion to address this numerous, this respectable auditory—'tis with the utmost humility, I contrast myself with the sublime theme that now occupies your attention. I feel that no language or expression of mine, and do the least jus-

tice to the elevation at which my ideas would aspire, or that my ideas, can possibly correspond with the sublimity of my subject. Indeed the very day, appointed for this commemoration, adds to my embarrassment—and surely must to your sympathy and sensibility.

THIS is the anniversary, that announced to the world the nativity of the hero, the patriot, the sage—this is the day, that by governmental recommendation, solemnizes, in funeral pomp and in public eulogy, the dissolution of our Washington.

THIS is the anniversary, that used to fill every American bosom with the strongest emotions of gratitude and joy,—this is the day that plunges America in deepest affliction.

THIS is the anniversary, that when the curtain was drawn up, the grand—the novel spectacle was exhibited to the world, of millions of free people, rendering just tribute and grateful homage to their illustrious benefactor—to their chosen chief. This, alas! is the day that beholds the curtain drop, and hide, forever from our view, the hero of our independence, the champion of our liberties—the preserver of our rights—and the faithful guardian of our nation's glory—Sad vicissitude!—mournful contrast!

To do justice to a subject like this, requires a reach of thought extensive as the horizon, that encircles the globe—an elevation of mind, that can soar to those immeasurable realms, bounded only by the canopy of heaven. Here silence would be eloquence, and expressive thought should eulogize his fame.

LIKE the refulgent luminary of day, he rose—he ascended to his bright meridian—and like that splendid orb, retired at eve, and left the world in darkness and in sorrow. In what mansion of bliss, greatest and best of men, dost thou now reside?—What celestial planet does thy capacious soul, with all the virtues that adorned humanity and enriched the universe, now illume?

Methinks even now I see his radiant form, with smile benign—with courteous dignity—ministering to his country the lesson, his life had taught—"Your destiny is at your own command—Be united—Peace and glory await you—Divide, dishonor and ruin mark your inevitable doom."

What though pompous mausoleums, rise upon his tomb!—What though pyramids of monumental marble be erected over his grave, still shall his deathless fame outlive them all. It will triumphantly sail along the stream of time, bearing his virtues and his name to latest ages—with no adverse wind to impede its course,—no sands or rocks to hazard its loss—but gently passing on 'till it reach the last, most distant shore of all—there eternity ready to rescue it from the general wreck will seize the immortal trophy, and place it where its lustre can never tarnish—where it must live forever.

The death of this transcendant—this elevated being, leaves but one thought in our bosoms—that Washington is no more!—that the hero of the western world is gone for ever!—a thought extensive as the universe,—boundless as his virtues,—and limited only by those skies, to which his great soul has ascended. The bright effulgence of his character, shed its influence on all around. Heroes sprang up at his name, and patriotism, kindling into enthusiastic ardor, when foreign or domestic insult threatened his country's honor, or its independence, filled his ranks,—thousands flew to his standard.

When busy faction, the accursed scourge of almost every land, loudly assuming the name of public zeal, dared to raise her head against the government and laws, and would have spread her desolating rage—he had but to give a stretch to his arm, and with his thunder to speak the terror of disobedience and opposition to the constituted authorities,—when the hydra, but late so vociferous and confident, murmured and shrunk at his awful approach—and, at his presence, in an agony of disappointment, expired. Mingling mercy with justice, the deluded, he spared—the leaders were punished, pardoned or se-

cured, as humanity suggested—as a wise policy dictated, or rendered expedient.

Emperors and monarchs are great in their own dominions only—strip them of their robes of royalty—their diadem—their sceptre—the pageantry and pomp of power, and thousands of their subjects are their superiors. Not so the pre-eminent chief whose loss we now deplore: "None but himself was his parallel"—Trace his illustrious actions from the embattled plain, where he was so gloriously distinguished, to the presidential chair of the nation, whose affections he so amply commanded, and they were uniform as they were great. We find him in all, the first and bravest of soldiers—the ablest and greatest of statesmen—the wisest and best of citizens. Elevated without pride—great without ambition—superior without ostentation—like the finest vernal day, he was praised by all, and by all *unenvied.* Conqueror of himself, and always prepared for the invisible event, no difficulties deterred—no dangers alarmed him. Brave without temerity, he knew when to check the ardor of conquest—the fire of enthusiasm. Deliberate without passion, he could coolly see, and avail himself of the great—the important moment when fortune herself, yielding to his matchless caution, acknowledged his superiority. Pious and exemplary, no fastidious parade, no rigid distance marked his character. The high standard by which his exalted worth was measured, was known to all but himself. He ascribed to heaven, what conquerors generally arrogate to themselves—victory.

"Wisdom his guide, and providence his trust" he felt not the ordinary motives that have actuated most heroes of antient and modern times. He fought, not for triumph, but for his country. He gave not the rich emolument of his toils and long career of military life, in securing her independence, for the poor applause of vulgar fame—he *magnanimously* gave them—and *those emoluments* were *dearly* earned. As midnight vigils kept—daily and hourly fatigue—thought profound and silent—contributions made to his country 'in its hour of utmost need'—as first in every danger—last to seek his safety, and all his gallant exploits, can well attest.

What must have been the anguish, the trying conflict of a mind like his, at the awful crisis, when the fate of the nation was suspended, as it were, by a single thread—at the crisis which was to decide the independence of his country, or to have rivetted her chains, perhaps, for ever! What must have been his feelings, after the just renown he had gained, when he had conquered, and a part of his army forgetting discipline, inflamed and irritated, would have destroyed or sullied the independence, he and his brave comrades had atchieved? What must he have felt when he laid down his command, and bade his fellow-soldiers, his victorious troops, a long, a last adieu?—And, above all, how great—how more than great, and heroic beyond example, must he have been, when, but a year before his existence was to close, he again exchanged the plough-share for the sword, and forgetting age, ease and repose, and the tranquillity so justly due to the evening of a life that had been passed as his was, in the deep scenes of the cabinet and the dangerous hazards of the field, when clouds of dark, portentous import, menaced his country—voluntarily to accept the first military command, and once more, should the councils of his nation so will it, to encounter all the perils, turmoils and vicissitudes of doubtful war!

Scarcely a river that rolls through our immense territory, but boasts some great exploit of our hero. The wild, rich streams of the Monongahela first watered the laurel, that adorned the youthful warrior's brow. When the savage yell, dread herald of death, struck with panic all but himself!—his general slain—his legions routed—this beardless champion—cool and collected, to safety led, through slaughtered heaps, the scanty relicts of a brave, but devoted army.

The rocky clifts of the Brandywine, where retreat was more glorious than victory, thickened those laurels. Then pondering on the sure destruction of his presuming foe—scarce a month had elapsed before his conquerors trembled and retired, subdued before his superior genius. When he advanced, it was with the cool resolution of the first Cæsar—when he retreated, it was with the wise policy of a Fabius.

The lofty, full flowing Delaware, when icy torrents menaced death to all that approached, he with his little cohort braving every danger, sharing in every toil and fatigue, and at that great crisis, when all was at stake—when a disappointed, worn-out army complained—when desertion thinned every rank—Yes! the Delaware can tell how then he defied her dangers—how he passed her rapid cataracts—how he boldly led his handful of troops to conquest and to fame.

The Raritan, that arrested the flying enemy and checked his retreat, swells with pride when she relates how a gallant veteran army retired before him. This, Columbia, was thy proudest moment—then revived a drooping nation's spirit—then her pulse, new strung, beat afresh to patriotism and independence.

But shall the iron-bound Hudson be silent? She who beheld an infant army, like Hercules in his cradle, attacking every foe, and defeated by none. United mercenaries and the gallant British, all opposing—yet still invincible. Yes, on her hardy margin, in letters never to be erased, is a Washington's glory, and his nation's courage for ever recorded.

The majestic Chesapeake sealed and immortalized his valor, his martial fame. The flower of Britain's army commanded by her bravest general—the mighty conqueror of the east, there laid at Washington's feet, the brilliant trophies, for ages heaped together. Then independence stood erect, and taking her mighty champion by the hand—"This," said she, is my hero—immortality I have given him. Engrave it, Americans, on your hearts—his valor has saved you—his wisdom and example, if you regard them, will forever secure you from foreign invasion—from domestic convulsion."

Here I should pause, and leave, to the concise eloquence of a Lee, the bold elocution of a Morris, the manly and nervous style of a Jackson, and superior abilities of many others of equal celebrity, his companions in war and in the cabinet, more particularly to delineate his splendid actions in the field—his vast decisions in council! those his cotemporaries, can best describe

the great atchievements that marked his life. How, with a handful of new, undisciplined soldiers, he performed prodigies of genius and courage. When utmost difficulties surrounded, how his great soul surmounted them. How undismayed he was by superior numbers. How his valor encouraged, his example animated, and his wisdom fortified his little army against an assailing, powerful foe. How, in a conflict, when civil war menaced his country,—when brother unsheathed the sword against brother,—when opinion almost equally vibrated,—how he united, conciliated and conquered.

MERIT so appropriate—virtues so uncommon and rare are the rich inheritance, that this great man bequeathed to his country—let us cherish it—let us consider and prize it as the first, the most inestimable, of public blessings.

WHILE patriotism, in pensive sorrow, mourns her loss, she impresses on her sons, this consolatory lesson, that millions yet unborn, will retrace the annals of this her greatest champion—and read in his history a nation's glory—a nation's happiest refuge,—the rich depository of virtues formed in so peculiar a manner, as to give, to genuine liberty, her only chance of gaining and preserving her greatest conquest—of enthroning her in a grateful people's hearts—of placing her on the everlasting basis of an equal, a representative and an energetic government,—a government from which oppression flies—one to which misery and persecution resort, as to their last and safest asylum, and where religion, morality and law, are the only directories to public virtue and to private happiness.

ERECT and sublime, fate itself could not subdue him. In him, the pangs of dissolution were lost. At the awful moment of death, when human nature bursting her fondest—dearest bonds—and heaving with convulsive agonies, instinctively shrinks and is appalled—we behold this god-like man, unmoved—calm as in the hour of tranquil health. Though solicited to live by all that could render life most desirable,—the allurements of friendship and opulence—every domestic elegance and comfort—his country's gratitude and love—a govern-

ment of his choice—and, above all, the luxurious retrospect of a life that had discharged every moral, social and religious duty—a life devoted to, and spent in the performance of, the greatest and noblest actions,—he descended to the grave without a sigh. Wonderful man! immortal hero! thou art gone, but the wide-spreading mantle of sympathy and sorrow, wet with the tears of patriotism and virtue, still remains, and so long as patriotism and virtue hold a place on earth, thy laurels will never fade—thy name will never—never be forgotten——

" No hope to live in the world's memory,
" The marble featur'd into " likeness"
" Th' eternizing brass, inscribing fame ;
" No, not the wonder of a future age.
" No motive striking on the pride of man,
" No ostentation swelled within his purpose,
" But undistinguish'd benefit to *all*,
" And his first, last, great care——
" HIS COUNTRY'S GLORY."

Oration on the death of lieutenant-general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *late president of the United States ; delivered in St. Michael's church, at the request of the inhabitants of Charleston, South-Carolina- By* DAVID RAMSAY, *M. D.*

IF ever any country owed to one of its citizens an incalculable debt of gratitude—that country is the United States—that citizen was the late GEORGE WASHINGTON. To do justice to his exalted merit, far exceeds my abilities. In making the attempt, I must surely fail, for none could succeed. I not only crave, but claim your indulgence. The task on which I am entering is of your appointment, and it is of such a delicate and arduous nature, that to its proper execution, not only my feeble powers, but the first abilities in the world, would be inadequate.

ON the 11th of February, 1732, Virginia had the honor of giving birth to the illustrious man, whose death we this day de-

plore. His ancestors migrated from England, and were among the first settlers of this first of the British provinces in America. I cannot speak from positive anecdote, what was his situation and employment for the first twenty years of his life; but I have heard, that in his youth he was remarkably grave, silent and thoughtful, active and methodical in business, highly dignified in his appearance and manners, and strictly honorable in all his deportment.

The first public notice of him, that I have seen, was in a note to a sermon, printed in London forty-five years ago, which had been preached a short time before, in Hanover county, Virginia, on some public occasion, by the late president Davies. In this, the preacher observed, "I may point out to the public that heroic youth, colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope, Providence has hitherto preserved for some important service to his country." As no thought of American independence was entertained at that early day, this observation could only have been founded in a knowledge of his talents and character. Indeed his appearance would have justified such a presentiment; for majesty aud dignity were remarkably conspicuous in his countenance, and the figure of his person.

Very soon after young Washington was twenty-one years of age, he was employed by the government of Virginia, on an embassy to negociate the removal of some French settlers from the Ohio, who had fortified themselves in the vicinity of that river, on lands claimed by the king of Great-Britain. In the execution of this trust, he travelled upwards of four hundred miles, and his route, for one half of that distance, led through pathless woods, inhabited only by savage beasts and more savage men. He was attended only by one companion, and proceeded on foot from Winchester: his negociations failing, Virginia raised three hundred men, and put them under his command, and instructed him to proceed to the Ohio. An engagement took place, between the French and Virginians, in which the former were at first defeated; but being afterwards reinforced with nine hundred men, they reduced colonel Wash-

ington, after making a brave defence, to the necessity of submitting to honorable terms of capitulation.

The contest about these lands, becoming more serious, general Braddock was sent with a regular force from Great-Britain, to support the claims of his Britannic majesty. His impetuous valor pushed him forward into an ambuscade of French and Indians, in which he was killed, and his army routed. The remains of it were rallied, and brought off in safety, under the direction and by the address of colonel Washington.

The next expedition was more successful, and restored tranquillity to the province of Virginia. When this event took place, the young citizen soldier, being no longer called to the discharge of military duty, resumed his habits of civil life, and continued therein until a new and unexpected scene, about twenty years after, brought him forward on a much more conspicuous theatre.

In the year 1774, the British ministry completed their system for taxing their colonies. America was roused; and, by a simultaneous impulse, formed a congress of her most enlightened sons, to devise such measures as bid fairest to preserve her endangered liberties. To this illustrious assembly Washington was deputed, and he contributed his full proportion in forming the wise plans which were by them adopted. Great-Britain turned a deaf ear to their petitions, and proceeded to coerce the colonies by a military force. Massachusetts being immediately attacked, had, in the first instance, embodied an army for its defence; but as soon as it was determined to make a common cause with that much-injured province, it became necessary that her local army should be made the army of the united colonies, and be officered by congress.

New-England had her Pomeroy, her Ward, and her Putnam, and many others who had seen as much, or perhaps more service than Washington, yet their wise delegates concurred in elevating the Virginian over their own favorite sons. The appointment of a commander in chief of all the armies raised, or

to be raised, was effected by an unanimous vote and without competition. Not only congress, but the inhabitants in every part of the united colonies, seemed, by one consent, to point to Washington, as the chosen instrument of heaven, to guide them through the storms of war, to the haven of peace and safety. His native modesty begat distrusts in his own breast, from which others were free.

In his acceptance of the office, he desired, "that it might be remembered by every gentleman present, that he declared, with the utmost sincerity, he did not think himself equal to the command with which he was honored."

On the third of July, 1775, he arrived at Cambridge, and entered upon the duties of his high station. Great were the difficulties which pressed on the new commander in chief. To introduce discipline and subordination among the free husbandmen, who had lately assumed the military character, and who were accustomed to act from the impulse of their own minds, was an arduous labor. To procure effective service from men who carry with them the spirit of freedom into the field, requires virtues which are rarely found in military characters. The greater part of the Americans, officers as well as soldiers, had never seen any service, were ignorant of their duty, and but feebly impressed with the ideas of union, subordination and discipline. To form an army of such materials, fit to take the field against British veteran troops, was the tssk assigned to general Washington. In effecting this he conducted with so much prudence, as to make it doubtful whether we ought most to admire the patient, accommodating spirit of the man, or the consummate address of the general.

The American troops were only engaged for a few months service, and were in a great measure destitute of ammunition. On the 4th of August, 1775, and for fourteen days after, the whole stock of powder in the American camp, and in the public magazines of New-England, was not sufficient to make ten rounds a man. Under all these disadvantages, the commander in chief adopted such efficient arrangements, as protected the country,

confined the British army to Boston, and finally obliged them to evacuate that city on the 17th of March, 1776. His conduct was so pleasing to congress, that they ordered a medal to be struck, with suitable devices, to perpetuate the remembrance of the great event; and so much to the satisfaction of the people of Massachusetts, that he was presented with a most flattering address from their council and house of representatives.

HITHERTO general Washington had embarked in the war with the fond idea of a reconcilement with the parent state. Independence was an after-thought, forced on the colonies by the refusal of Great-Britain to redress their grievances. Though he was not among the first to embrace the scheme of independence, yet as soon as he perceived the necessity of the measure, he heartily came into it. Far from wishing such a turn of affairs, as must necessarily lead to his personal aggrandizement, as long as one ray of hope remained, he ardently panted for such a return of moderation and wisdom to the rulers of Great-Britain, as would have united the two countries in their antient habits of union and friendship.

SOON after the evacuation of Boston, general Washington, with the army under his command, took their position in New-York. Great were the difficulties he had to encounter at Boston, but much greater pressed upon him in New-York. In the former situation, he commanded a force far superior in number to the enemy; in the latter, his whole army was short of 18,000 men; and of these a great proportion was militia. To these were opposed upwards of 30,000 British veterans, supported by a powerful navy. In this situation, after much thought, general Washington resolved on a war of posts. He stood his ground, as long as it could be done, without risking too much, and then prevented the last extremity, by evacuating and retreating. He rightly judged that to him delay was victory; and not to be conquered was to conquer. By this policy he wore away the campaign of 1776. Though the British counted on the complete conquest of the colonies in that year, it was the middle of September before they got footing in the city of

New-York, and beyond the middle of November before they obtained full possession of New-York island.

The evacuating and retreating system, adopted by general Washington, subjected him to the clamors of short-sighted politicians, who questioned his decision and spirit. He had it always in his power to have vindicated himself, by stating the inferiority of his numbers, and the total unfitness of his raw troops to contend with the veteran force opposed to them; but with true magnanimity he bore those reproaches, and concealed his real situation.

In the latter end of November, the British commanders, instead of retiring into winter quarters, after driving the Americans from the state of New-York, pursued them into New-Jersey, with the fair prospect of annihilating their whole force. The moment was critical. Dangers and difficulties pressed on all sides. On the sixteenth of November, 2,700 of the American army were taken prisoners in Fort Washington. In fourteen days after that event, the flying camp, amounting to 10,000 men, having served out their time, claimed their discharge. Other whole regiments, on similar grounds, did the same. The few that remained with general Washington scarcely exceeded 3,000, and they were in a most forlorn condition, without tents, or blankets, or any utensils to dress their provisions. Under all these disadvantages, they were obliged to consult their safety, by retreating towards Philadelphia, from a victorious army, pressing close on their rear. As they marched through the country, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined them, while numbers were daily flocking to the royal army for protection. Not only the common people changed sides in this gloomy state of affairs; but several of the leading men in New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, adopted the same expedient.—Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The hearts of many brave Americans began to fail, and to give up all hope of maintaining their independence.

In this period, when the American army was relinquishing their general—the people giving up the cause—some of their

leaders going over to the enemy, and the British commanders succeeding in every enterprize, general Washington did not despair. He slowly retreated before the advancing foe, and determined to fall back to Pennsylvania—to Augusta county in Virginia—and, if necessary, to the westward of yonder mountains, where he was resolved, in the last extremity, to renew the struggle for the independence of his country. While his unconquered mind was brooding on these ideas, 1,500 of the Pennsylvania militia joined him. With this small increase of force he formed the bold resolution of recrossing the Delaware, and attacking that part of the enemy which was posted in Trenton. Heaven smiled on the enterprize. On the 26th of December, 900 Hessians were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. This bold enterprize was, in eight days after, followed by another, which was planned with great address. General Washington with his army stole away under cover of the night, from the vicinity of a force far superior to his own, and attacked in their rear a detachment of the British posted in Princeton: 300 were taken prisoners, and about 100 killed and wounded. These two victories revived the drooping spirits of the Americans, and seemed under Providence to have been the means of their political salvation. They made the British so cautious of extending their posts, that general Washington, with an army of 1,500 men, for several months, kept nearly 15,000 of the enemy closely pent up in Brunswick.

The same wise policy of avoiding decisive engagements was pursued by our hero through the campaign of 1777, with so much effect, that it was as late as the 26th of September before Sir William Howe possessed himself of Philadelphia.

In the various marches and counter-marches which took place between the two armies, in the course of this campaign, repeated proofs were given, that though general Washington was forward to engage, when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impossible for the royal commander to bring him to action against his consent.

I claim your indulgence for recapitulating so much of the history of our late revolution, which is already known to you

all. Is it no digression? It is all to my purpose. When general Washington is the subject, history and eulogy are the same—the speaker praises him best, who gives the most faithful narrative of his actions.

If time permitted, I would run over every campaign, and point out to you, in each, the many instances in which our hero displayed the talents of an accomplished general, as well as the mild virtues of the father of his country. I would particularize how eager he was to attack when it could be done to advantage; and with how much dexterity he avoided engagements, when his situation was unfavorable. With what address he kept together a half naked—half starved—and unpaid army, particularly in the last year of the war, when gold and silver were banished from circulation, and the continental currency had depreciated almost to nothing.—I would unfold how the magic of his name produced union and concert among the jarring states, and their discordant troops.—I would—but time fails me even to enumerate the topics, from which, by the simple relation of facts, I could heighten your admiration of this extraordinary man.—I shall, therefore, conclude my observations on his military career, by observing, that in consequence of a most judicious plan, in concerting, and executing which, general Washington had a principal share, lord Cornwallis, with 7,000 men, was, in October, 1781, compelled to surrender to the combined forces of France and the United States. This was the closing scene of the revolutionary war. At Trenton the first, and at York-town the last decisive blow was given to the British forces in the United States, and both were conducted under the immediate command of general Washington.

Though the capture of lord Cornwallis, in a great measure, terminated the war, yet great and important services were rendered to the United States, by our general, after that event. The army which had fought the battles of independence was about to be disbanded without being paid. At this period, when the minds of both officers and men were in a highly irritable state, attempts were made by plausible but seditious publications, to induce them to unite in redressing their grievances,

while they had arms in their hands. The whole of general Washington's influence was exerted, and nothing less than his unbounded influence would have been availing to prevent the adoption of measures, that threatened to involve the country in an intestine war, between the army on the one side, and the citizens on the other. If Washington had been a Julius Cæsar, or an Oliver Cromwell, all we probably would have gained by the revolution would have been a change of our allegiance—from being the subjects of George the third of Great-Britain, to become the subjects of George the first of America.

The war being ended—the peace, liberties, and independence of these states being acknowledged and secured, our beloved general presents himself before congress, and returns into their hands his commission as commander in chief of their armies. The scene was grand and majestic. After having successfully served his country for eight years, and conducted its armies through a revolutionary war, which terminated in the establishment of the liberties and independence of these states—when he is about to retire to private life, does he demand honors or emoluments for himself, family, or friends? No such thing. In modest language, he recommended to the favorable notice, and patronage of congress, the confidential officers who were attached to his person. For them he indirectly asks favors, but nothing for himself. The only privilege conferred by congress on the retiring Washington, which distinguished him from any other private citizen, was, a right of sending and receiving letters free of postage. Think not, I mean to charge my country with ingratitude. Nothing would have been refused to him which he wished to have; but, to use his own language on another occasion, "he shut his hand against all pecuniary compensation."

Do you ask me how this illustrious general, after being used for eight years to camps, bore the languid indifference of private life? Do you enquire whether he went to Europe in a public or private character? Had he been a vain man, fond of applause, or of glittering in the public eye, he would doubtless have put himself in the way of receiving those flattering atten-

tions, which are so eagerly coveted by the vulgar great. Very different was the line of conduct he pursued. After resigning his commission, he hastened with ineffable delight to his long-neglected farm at Mount-Vernon—sheathed his sword—laid aside his uniform, and assumed the dress and habits of a country gentleman. With the same assiduity he had lately visited camps and forts, he began once more to visit his fields and his mills. In a short time, the first general of the world became the best farmer in Virginia.

Do you enquire on what subjects this great man, after retiring from an exalted public station, used to converse? Was it his practice to "fight his battles o'er again," and entertain his company with a recital of the great scenes in which he had been a principal actor? Ask the many gentlemen who partook of his hospitality, and they will one and all tell you, that he rarely spoke of the war, and still more rarely of himself, unless his guests forced conversation upon these subjects. His favorite topics were agricultural; on these he dwelled with peculiar pleasure, and rejoiced in every opportunity of giving and receiving information on the first and best employment of man. In this beloved retreat, from the cares and business of public life, he wished to spend the remainder of his days; but, after having enjoyed himself on his farm for four years, his country again called for his services.

From the inefficacy of the articles of confederation, and from several other concurring causes, a tide of evils flowed in upon the United States, in the years that immediately followed the return of peace. A convention of the different states was called, to digest a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the union. To this illustrious assembly general Washington was deputed, and of it he was unanimously elected president. His wisdom had a great share in forming, and the influence of his name a still greater in procuring the acceptance of the constitution, which the convention recommended to the people for their adoption. By this, one legislative, executive and judicial power was made to pervade all the states, and the executive in

particular was committed to an officer, by the name of *president*. Though great diversity of opinions had prevailed about the merits of the new constitution, there was but one opinion about the person who should be appointed its supreme executive officer. Three millions of people, by their representatives, unanimously gave their suffrages in favor of George Washington. Unambitious of further honors, he wished to be excused from all public service; but that ardent patriotism, by which he had always been governed, prevailed over his love of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the great work of making a nation happy. The popularity of his name, and the confidence which the people of all the stases reposed in his tried integrity, enabled him to give an energy to the new constitution, which it would not have had under the administration of any other person.

I NEED not remind you of the great improvements which have taken place in the wealth, resources and commerce of the United States since Washington has been president. You know them—you feel them—and the daily increasing prosperity of our country attests them.

IN the midst of this prosperity, a storm arose in a far distant land, which threatened to involve these states in its wide spreading devastation; but our political pilot once more saved us from impending danger. When the war broke out between France and England, an artful minister was sent from the former, with the avowed design of involving us in the contest. The kindred name of a republic—unbounded love and gratitude to France, for beneficial aid, afforded us in our struggle for independence—rankling hatred of Great-Britain, for the many injuries she had done us in the same period, all concurred to make a strong party among us, favorable to the views of the French minister. This was increased by impolitic and illegal captures of our floating property, by the vessels of his Britannic majesty. When we were apparently on the point of being drawn into the vortex of the war, president Washington, by virtue of his constitutional powers, prevented it. He nominated an envoy extraordinary to negociate with the court of London. This, like

the veto of a Roman tribune, put a stop to all further proceedings; for the legislature could not proceed to hostile measures while the executive was negociating. The man who, in his military capacity, had saved us from Great-Britain, now, in his civil character, saved us from ourselves. The people, though divided in parties, were so fully convinced of the rectitude and purity of the conduct of Washington, that on a second election they elevated him to the same exalted station, with an unanimous voice. If my time, or your patience, permitted, I would go over the civil administration of our late president, and point out to you his judicious arrangements for making us happy at home, and respectable abroad—for protecting our commerce—for encouraging our agriculture—for giving vigor to our internal police, by calling into office upright and able men, in every department. I would dilate, with particular pleasure, on his unwearied endeavors to preserve the country in peace. While some of our citizens were for France, and others for England—Washington was for the United States, and with great address preserved us on both sides from the horrors of war. On these subjects I cannot dwell, and therefore hasten to observe, that after having served his country with great ability, and fidelity, for eight years, in the office of president, he once more retired to private life, covered with honors, and followed by the love and gratitude of all the people. Previous to this event he gave his last parting advice to the citizens of the United States, in the form of a valedictory address. This is in all your hands. Teach it to your children, in the house, and by the way, lying down and rising up, going out and coming in. It is an invaluable legacy—perhaps there never was so much important instruction—so much good advice given by any mere man in the compass of so few words, as was done by Washington on this, and a similar occasion, when he retired from military command.

Our departed friend had not enjoyed his beloved retirement two years, when his country again called for his services. The rulers of France, having entirely departed from the principles on which they set out, plundered our commerce, insulted our ministers of peace; and some of their agents went so far as to threaten us with invasion. This imposed a necessity to organ-

ize an army, and prepare for the last extremity. All the world knew, and Washington, though the most modest of men, could not but know, that his name, at the head of our army, would either deter any European power from invading us; or if they should madly make the attempt, would unite all our citizens as a band of brothers for the common defence. He there-fore accepted the appointment, and though on the verge of three-score years and ten, stood ready and pledged to take the field, whenever the necessities of the country required it. In this attitude, and with a fixed resolution to serve his country in the last ebb of his life, and with the last drop of his blood, our father has been suddenly snatched from us. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity. Well may you mourn on such an occasion. Well may you shroud yourselves and your churches in black. Well may the citizens of these states, from New-Hampshire to Georgia, mingle their tears in one great flood of grief. It was wise and proper to set apart a day free from business and care, to give undisturbed vent to your sorrows. Who now will wield the sword of our country against our enemies? Many brave and good officers we yet have: but none, like Washington, can by their very names strike terror into the breasts of an invading enemy. None, like Washington, can unite all hearts and hands in the common defence.

HAVING finished an historical review of the life of our departed friend, bear with me a few minutes while I attempt to draw his character. For the sake of those who have never seen general Washington, it may be worth while to observe, that his person was graceful, well proportioned, and uncommonly tall.—When he was cheerful, he had a most engaging countenance—when grave, a most respectable one. There was at all times an air of majesty and dignity in his appearance.

HIS learning was of a singular kind; he overstepped the tedious forms of the schools, and by the force of a correct taste and sound judgment, seized on the great ends of learning, without the assistance of those means which have been contrived to prepare less active minds for public business. By a careful study of the English language, by reading good models of fine writing;

and, above all, by the aid of a vigorous mind, he made himself master of a pure, elegant, and classical style. His composition was all nerve; full of correct and manly ideas, which were expressed in precise and forcible language. His answers to the the innumerable addresses, which on all public occasions poured in upon him, were promptly made, handsomely expressed, and always contained something appropriate.—His letters to congress—his addresses to that body on the acceptance and resignation of his commission—his general orders as commander in chief—his speeches and messages, as president—and, above all, his two farewell addresses to the people of the United States, will remain lasting monuments of the goodness of his heart—of the wisdom of his head—and of the eloquence of his pen.

The powers of his mind were in some respects peculiar. He was a great practical, self-taught genius—with a head to devise, and a hand to execute projects of the first magnitude and greatest utility. Happily for his country he was not under the dominion of a warm imagination; but he possessed, in an eminent degree, what was of infinitely more consequence—a correct, solid judgment. This was improved by close thinking, and strengthened by daily exercise. Possessing a large proportion of common sense, uninfluenced by prejudice, passion, or party spirit—deliberately weighing in the balance of a sound judgment, the possible and probable consequences of every step he took, and being always under the influence of an honest, good heart, he was imperceptibly led to decisions that were wise and judicious. It is not pretended that he was infallible; but it may, with truth, be asserted, that in the multiplicity of business, on which he had to decide, his errors were as few in number, as venial in their nature, and as unimportant in their consequences, as could reasonably be expected in the prssent imperfect state of the wisest and best of men.

Enemies he had, but they were few, and chiefly of the same family with the man, who could not bear to hear Aristides always called the just. Among them all, I have never heard of one who charged him with any habitual vice, or even foible. There are few men of any kind, and still fewer of those the world

calls great, who have not some of their virtues eclipsed by corresponding vices.—But this was not the case with general Washington—he had religion without austerity—dignity without pride—modesty without diffidence—courage without rashness—politeness without affectation—affability without familiarity. His private character, as well as his public one, will bear the strictest scrutiny. He was punctual in all his engagements—upright and honest in his dealings—temperate in his enjoyments—liberal and hospitable to an eminent degree—a lover of order—systematical and methodical in all his arrangements. He was the friend of morality and religion—steadily attended on public worship—encouraged and strengthened the hands of the clergy. In all his public acts he made the most respectful mention of Providence ; and, in a word, carried the spirit of piety with him, both in his private life and public administration. He was far from being one of those minute philosophers, who believe that " death is an eternal sleep ;" or of those, who, trusting to the sufficiency of human reason, discard the light of divine revelation.

To dwell on all the virtues of general Washington, would protract my oration beyond the going down of the sun. I must therefore confine myself to a few. Among the many that present themselves, his patience and spirit of accommodation deserve particular notice.—He had to form soldiers of freemen ; many of whom had extravagant ideas of their personal rights.—He had often to mediate between a starving army, and a high spirited yeomanry. So great were the neeessities of the soldiers, under his immediate command, that he was obliged to send out detachments to seize on the property of the farmers at the point of the bayonet. The language of the soldier was, " Give me clothing—give me food—or I cannot fight—I cannot live." The language of the farmer was, " Protect my property." In this choice of difficulties, general Washington not only kept his army together, but conducted with so much prudence, as to command the approbation both of the army and of the citizens. He was also dependent for much of his support on the concurrence of thirteen distinct, unconnected legislatures. Animosities prevailed between his southern and northern troops; and

there were strong jealousies between the states from which they respectively came. To harmonize these clashing interests—to make uniform arrangements from such discordant sources and materials, required no common share of address. Yet so great was the effect of the modest, unassuming manners of general Washington, that he retained the affection of all his troops, and of all the states.

Bravery is indispensible in a military man, though it stands lowest in the least of the virtues of a great officer. Our hero possessed a great share of it. In battle he was the bravest among the brave. When the service required it, he cheerfully risked his person. Of this I could enumerate many instances. I could particularly relate, that on New-York island, and at the battle at Princeton, he was so far in front of his troops, and exposed to so much danger, that the preservation of his life can only be accounted for by those who believe in a particular providence. Having so many more important matters before me, I cannot dwell on this subject. How rich in reputation must that general be, whose courage must be thrown in the back ground, to give place for the display of his more important virtues?

General Washington also possessed equanimity in an eminent degree. One even tenor marked the greatness of his mind, in all the variety of scenes through which he passed. In the most trying situations he never despaired, nor was he ever depressed. Propositions, supported by plausible assignments, were made to him by honest, but despairing, timid Americans, to save himself and his country, by negociating at the head of his army; but in the lowest ebb of affairs, he spurned at every such proposal. The honors and applause he received from his grateful countrymen, at more fortunate periods, would have made any other man giddy, but on him they had no mischievous effect. He exacted none of those attentions: but when forced upon him he received them as favors, with the politeness of a well bred man. He was great in deserving them, but much greater in not being elated with them.

THE patriotism of our departed friend, was of the most ardent kind, and without alloy. He was very different from those noisy patriots, who with love of country in their mouths, and with hell in their hearts, lay their schemes for aggrandizing themselves at every hazard; but he was one of those who love their country in sincerity, and who hold themselves bound to consecrate all their talents to its service. Numerous were the difficulties with which he had to contend. Great were the dangers he had to encounter. Various were the toils and services in which he had to share; but to all difficulties and dangers he rose superior—To all toils and services he cheerfully submitted for his country's good.

POSSESSING an ample, unincumbered fortune—happy at home, in the most pleasing domestic connections, what but love of country could have induced him to accept the command of the American army in 1775? Could it be hatred of Great-Britain? He then ardently loved her, and panted for a reconciliation with her. Could it be partiality for a military life? He was then in the forty-fourth year of his age, when a fondness for camps generally abates. Could it be love of fame? The whole tenor of his life forbids us to believe that he ever was under the undue influence of this passion. Fame followed him, but he never pursued it. Could it have been the love of power? They who best knew the undissembled wishes of his heart, will all tell you with what reluctance he was dragged from a private station, and with what ineffable delight he returned to it. Had he not voluntarily declined it, he would have died your president. Others have resigned high stations from disgust, but he retired at rather an early period of old age, while his faculties were strong, and his health not much impaired, and when the great body of the people sincerely loved him, and ardently wished for his re-election. Could it have been the love of money that induced him to accept the command of the American army? No such thing—when he was appointed commander in chief, congress made him a handsome allowance; but in his acceptance of the command, he declared "that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted him to accept the arduous employment, at the expence of his domestic ease and happiness, he did not wish to make

any profit from it." "I will keep," said he, "an exact account of my expences—these I doubt not you will discharge, and that is all I desire." At the close of the war, he produced his accounts for the eight years it had lasted, all in his own hand-writing, and with the same exactness that was required of commissaries and contractors—the whole amounted to £. 14,479 18s. 9d. 3-4, sterling. Of this sum, about one-seventh was for secret services. The amount paid, the time when, and the occasions on which monies were advanced for secret services, were all carefully noted, but for obvious reasons no receipts were produced. For every other item of the account the most regular vouchers were exhibited. The whole at the request of general Washington was minutely examined by the proper accounting officers, and regularly passed. A tin box, containing these accounts, remains in one of the offices of the United States. It is a monument of the disinterestedness of general Washington. Bring your children, and your children's children to examine its contents. Shew them the hand-writing of the father of their country—teach them thereon lessons of economy, of order and method in expences—teach them to love their country, and to serve it on liberal terms.

I CALL upon antiquity—upon modern Europe, and especially on the recent republic of France, to produce one of their heroes or statesmen, that can surpass, or even equal our disinterested patriot.

HAD I a voice that would reach across the Atlantic, I would address the nations at war, and propose to their emperors, their kings, their directors, their generals, and their statesmen, the example of our Washington for their imitation; and call upon them, if not too much abashed by the splendor of his virtues, to learn from him to put far away avarice and ambition—and like him to pursue nought but their country's good. If they would thus copy after the great example of our American hero, they would soon sheath their swords, and let the world have peace.

BUT chiefly do I call on my fellow-citizens, to cherish the remembrance of the virtues of the dear deceased. To learn

from him to be all eye—all ear—all heart and hand in the service of your country—to think no sacrifice too great—no labor too hard, which public good requires at your hands. Rehearse to your children, and instruct them to rehearse to theirs, the noble deeds of your common father, and inspire them with a holy resolution to go and do likewise. His great example, thus improved, will be a germ of virtuous actions through succeeding generations, 'till time shall be no more.

But to return—the same reasoning will apply with still greater force to general Washington's acceptance of the office of president of the United States. No motives, but those of the purest kind, could have induced him, loaded with honors, and possessed of a reputation that had carried his name to the remotest corners of the globe, to quit his beloved retirement for the second time, and embark on the perilous sea of civil life.

Where shall we find words sufficient to do justice to his self-denying acceptance of his recent appointment to the supreme command of the army that is now raising. View him in the possession of all that his heart could wish—in the sixty-seventh year of his age, when repose and retirement must have been not only desirable but even necessary.—View him under all those circumstances, plédging himself to take the field whenever the situation of his country required it. How ardent must have been his patriotism! How great is the loss which we have sustained.

In losing him our people have lost their guide—our country has lost its father—its sword and shield—its greatest benefactor and ornament. Rome with all her heroes—Greece with all her patriots, could not produce his equal. Not one who trod the stage of life with equal dignity, and who departed from it in old age with a reputation so brilliant, and at the same time so spotless.

His virtues and example are an invaluable legacy to his country—to Europe—to the world. His councils are engraven on the table of our hearts—his deeds are written with a pen of iron

and with the point of a diamond. His fame is a sea without a shore—His counsels—his deeds, and his fame will live forever. But, alas! those eyes which have watched so many nights for the safety of the United States, are now closed in death—that tongue, and those hands, which have so often, so long, and so successfully been exerted for our benefit, are now mouldering in the dust.

No more will he enlighten our councils by his wisdom—no more will he lead our armies to victory—no longer will his name prove a bulwark of defence, by giving us one mind and one heart, and by striking terror into our enemies. For these things our hearts are faint—our eyes are dim and run down with water.

This day is a day of trouble and distress—a day of darkness and gloominess—a day of clouds and thick darkness——But I check myself—Washington's worth, and our sorrows, exceed all speech.—I am therefore silent, that we may muse on his merits and indulge our grief.

Oration on the death of general George Washington; *delivered in the Dutch church in New-Brunswick, New-Jersey. By major-general* Frederick Frelinghuysen.

My countrymen and friends,

SOLEMN! awfully solemn is the occasion, which this day assembles us. We come not as heretofore, to commemorate the birth of a nation, or to celebrate the victories of our country:—we come not to proclaim the virtuous deeds of the living patriot, or the warlike atchievements of the existing hero: we come not to rejoice; we come to mourn! to mourn departed worth, and to pay a tribute of gratitude to unparallelled merit; merit, once on earth, but now removed.

How gladly, my countrymen, would I resign the task assigned me, into abler hands; but who is equal to such a task? Who can justly recount the praises of the hero, the statesman, and the Christian, whose loss we lament!—The faithful page of history will make the attempt, and it will fail. The orator and the poet will unite their efforts, and they will immortalize not half his worth. In the hearts, in the grateful hearts of his beloved countrymen, it is alone truly recorded: and who can express the feelings of those hearts, when the sad tidings are announced, that WASHINGTON IS NO MORE!

IT has been the custom of most nations to celebrate the actions, and to resound the praises of their renowned heroes and statesmen. They began it, impelled by affection and sorrow; and they continued it from motives of duty and interest. But never, in any country, did all these so evidently unite, to call upon a people to deplore the loss, and to proclaim the virtues of an illustrious character, as on this mournful occasion. If ever affection and sorrow were sincere, such, Americans, must be your affection and your sorrow, for the departed FATHER of your country. If ever duty prompted to a grateful remembrance of past and signal services, or interest recommended for the example of survivors to perpetuate the memory of great and virtuous actions, this sorrowful moment affords the most striking instance.

I WILL not, my countrymen, attempt a formal eulogy on this great and good man, beloved by his own country, and admired by all. For, besides, that his character is above all praise, should I attempt it, the abilities of my head (as a writer expresses it) would too little conspire with the feelings of my heart. It will be sufficient for our present purpose, in order to shew the greatness of our loss, to take a short and summary view of our heroe's life, so nobly, so patriotically spent for the public good.

AT a period, which others devote to mirth and dissipation, in his very youth, he was called by his native colony to perilous and interesting services: and such were the early talents and

heroism which he displayed, that all men foretold his future greatness if his life was prolonged; and such were the extraordinary interpositions of Divine Providence in his favor on several occasions, that devout men were inspired to predict, that he was preserved for the future glory and defence of his country. He continued to be honored by Virginia with important appointments, civil and military. He continued to do much good; in war a hero, in peace a statesman and a farmer. A statesman, studying the good of his country, and with his brother patriots, adopting measures to promote it. A farmer, cultivating his lands, cultivating his mind, and cultivating every social and domestic virtue. Heaven was preparing him for more important scenes—and thy blood-stained soil, O Lexington! opened the glorious drama. The contest between the colonies of America and their mother country had not drawn to a crisis; and the hostile fleets and hostile armies of the ill-advised Britain, had compelled the former to assert their rights, and to repel force by force. But who shall lead the troops of freedom! By impulse more than human, the American people cast their eyes upon the Cincinnatus of Mount-Vernon, and he is elected the commander in chief of their armies.

His country calls. He hesitates not to resign the sweet delights of domestic life, but with a modest diffidence in his talents, and an humble, but firm reliance on the god of armies, he at once obeys her call. To detail the various events of the bloody conflict, all of which, whether prosperous or adverse, evinced the greatness of his soul and the warmth of his patriotism, cannot now be expected; the historian will record them, and the present and future ages will read and wonder. With an undisciplined army, almost without arms or ammunition; his country without military resources; against an enemy, brave, determined, and enured to war; and against a nation in the zenith of her power, he nobly took the field. Under his auspices, order sprang out of disorder; detachments of strangers were formed into a band of brothers, and the sons of freedom spread their embattled ranks around him, as the rock of our strength, and under God, our sure defence.

DURING the eventful contest, his patriotic care extended to every part of the Union. Did danger assail the north, there was his Gates, and there his gallant Lincoln; did hostile bands invade the south, there was his faithful Greene; and near their chieftain's camp, there was the sword of the Lord and of Washington. There he protected us by day, and watched over us by night; there he cheerfully offered his precious life to the fate of war—and there he caused the enemies of our freedom to feel

"*The keen, rough searchings of a patriot's steel.*"

Throughout the bloody conflict, his country's good was the pole-star of all his conduct. The voice of praise could not betray him into rashness, nor could the malignant tongue of slander warp him from his duty. With the same steady mind he advanced; with the same steady mind he retired;—with the same firm soul he fought the foe; with the same firm soul he declined the combat. When victory held out to him her bleeding hand, he clasped it with serenity, thanking his God. With calm composure he bore every adversity, resigned to the will of heaven. Possessing the full confidence of his country, the idol of his army, and of all the militia, he was never elated. The admiration of the age for military skill and heroic atchievements, he never boasted. Though by his arduous struggle in the cause of freedom, he had stamped an inestimable value upon a soldier's name, the name of patriot was his great delight.

VARIOUS were the events of the important conflict; but heaven at length crowned his military labors with success. With all the joy which patriotism could inspire, he saw the independence of his country established, and her peace restored. The joy of ambition never entered his soul. Having received from the United States in congress assembled, the most pathetic acknowledgments for his long and faithful services; having paid due honors to his comrades in war, and leaving his country a legacy too valuable to be forgotten, he nobly retired. The hero of America became the FARMER of Mount-Vernon. Methinks I see the venerable patriot on his way; every where met, every where followed, every where accompanied and surrounded by the affectionate wishes of a grateful people. Happy man! glorious retinue! Haughty despots, attend! bow before him, and learn

how little you are. Ambition! for a moment stop thy pursuits, and if thou canst, learn what GREATNESS is.

BUT the important work which he had begun, the political happiness of his country, was not yet completed. The confederation of the states, formed amidst the noise of war and the din of arms, proved unequal to the purposes for which it was designed. The band of union was incomplete, and the strength of the nation could not be called into exertion. Rebellion began to rear its head. Private and public credit were nearly destroyed; and America, though strong in men and full of resources, presented to the world the picture of a feeble and bankrupt people. His country called again; he again obeyed, and joined a band of worthies in forming a constitution for these United States, founded on the purest principles of political freedom, and calculated to make his country great and happy.

To carry into effect this constitution, then became the all-important work, on which depended the happiness or misery of our country. Difficulties arising from various causes, presented themselves to view. Discordant sentiments, ambitious designs, and the intrigues of the enemies of our independence, were all to be encountered. Washington lives! Washington lives! is again resounded from north to south, from east to west; and by the unanimous voice of his grateful country, he is elected chief magistrate of this rising empire.

LOADED with honors, and on the pinnacle of human glory; surrounded with friends, and in full possession of all the blessings which affluence can bestow, and of every social and domestic enjoyment, he again resolves to engage in the toils, the dangers, and the anxieties of public life. Here let the historian pause, and search for language to bestow due praise. It is the brightest plume in all his reputation. There was no still voice to whisper in his ear, HERO, THOU HAST ENOUGH. There was no voice which dared to utter, HERO, THE RISK IS TOO GREAT! The illustrious patriot could hear but one voice,

the sacred voice of his beloved country; to obey which, had been the delight of his youth, and the sublime pleasure of his life.

Behold him advancing to the arduous task, and recollect the feelings which then agitated every American breast. Did not every bosom glow with gratitude and every heart expand with joy and confidence? See him engaged in the solemnities of taking upon himself the important office. The hero of America was not there; the patriot and the Christian alone appeared. The persevering patriot, again willing to devote his life, his fortune and his reputation to the welfare of his country. The humble Christian looking up for aid to that Almighty Being, under the shadow of whose influence he had walked in safety, and by the strength of whose arm, he had atchieved happiness for his country, and for himself immortal fame.

For eight long years, all of them anxious, and some of them extremely portentous of evil, he presided over the important concerns of the Union. With unremitting care and attention; with unexampled wisdom and firmness, he discharged the arduous trust. His country's good was again his only guide, and its durable happiness his only wish. Superior to flattery, and unawed by calumny, he pursued his course of well doing.

It is impossible, on this occasion, to detail the various measures which he pursued during this interesting period—let us select a few.

When a daring rebellion against the laws, evidently instigated and designed to prostrate our government, broke out in a neighboring state; with all the tenderness and affection of a father, he endeavored to reclaim the disobedient. His character now shone forth with more than usual splendor. Whatever a sound head, or a benevolent heart could dictate to prevent the effusion of human blood, was attempted; and at length, when all his kind and paternal admonitions proved abortive, he, in mercy, sent a force which forbade resistance, and without the loss of a single life, order and obedience to the laws were hap-

pily restored: great was the disappointment of our enemies—glorious the result to us.

During his administration, a still more serious danger was to be encountered; a danger which threatened our peace, and the ruin of our commerce. It was a time to try his soul, and his soul was tried. The American people having their passions heated by the conduct of Great-Britain, respecting the treaty of peace; their former animosities not yet subsided, and their minds enraged by the cruel and unjust depredations on their commerce, were ripe for a rupture; and but for their Washington, would have rushed into the horrors of another bloody contest with the English nation. He knew their feelings, and how little many of them wished for peace and reconciliation. The incomparable patriot saw their danger, and happy for America, he knew his duty. He stepped in between the people and the precipice to which they had arrived, and by the wisdom, moderation and firmness of his conduct, he, without the desolations of war, procured for his country, what the loss of thousands of lives, and millions of treasure, could but have effected—honorable peace, future safety, and complete justice.

But time will not permit me further to particularize his great and good actions. It must again be left to the faithful historian, to record the various efforts of his genius to promote our peace, our honor, and our safety. Let it suffice at present to observe, that all the measures which he adopted or recommended, either as to our internal or external relations, proved him the friend and the father of his people; and that under his administration, these United States rose to a height of prosperity, unequalled in the annals of history: happy and free at home, honored and respected abroad. His country thus flourishing under its excellent constitution, and under just and equal laws; encreasing in wealth and population beyond its most sanguine hopes; peace in all our borders, and the cup of blessings overflowing in our habitations. The illustrious patriot having again given us the most paternal advice for our future happiness, again retires, and is again followed by the blessings of a grateful people, and the plaudits of an admiring world.

WITNESS for me, my countrymen; did not every American heart then bespeak for him a rest from his public toils? Did not every patriot pray, that to the length of many years, might be added his so long wished for repose from public cares?

BUT, behold! new dangers arise, and his country calls again. Haughty, imperious France, threatens our happy union with fatal divisions, and our government with destruction. The despoiler of nations denounces our independence, and menaces us with ruin. Like Holland shall ye be plundered! like Switzerland shall ye be subdued! and like Venice will we bring you into market! was their language to the American people.

As if the measure of his goodness could not be filled, the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY is roused by the indignity offered to his children. The ardor of the soldier is not yet damped; the patriot's pulse still beats in unison with the feelings of his insulted country. He again obeys her call, and is appointed commander in chief of her armies. He again resolves to risk his life, and his exalted reputation, in the doubtful fields of war. Glorious man! who can do justice to thy merit? Who can find thy equal? Death! thou hast made a blow which thou canst not repeat.

THIS, my countrymen, is a short, and as you all full well know, a very imperfect picture of a life spent for your good, and always devoted to your interest. But he is no more! Your illustrious general, your wise and patriotic president, your constant and immovable friend, is gone to that bourne from which there is no return. And this his natal day, heretofore a day of joy and festivity, is changed into a day of mourning and bitter grief. Let us not, my countrymen, on this afflictive occasion impiously say, that our God has forsaken us at this eventful and perilous period; let us rather intermingle our sorrows with the consolatory reflections, that his co-patriot Adams lives; that he lives, and now presides with a mind capacious, and a heart sincere to love his country; that many worthies—statesmen—soldiers, still remain; a list too long for this days numbering.

Their past exploits are known, and their future conduct, under God, will promote our welfare.

BUT still we must recur to the melancholy truth, that WASHINGTON IS NO MORE. In him all hearts were united, and in the day of danger he was himself an HOST. He was the choicest gift that heaven could have bestowed, and his loss is the most grievous dispensation.

THEREFORE let all the people mourn! And thou, dear partner of his life, his cares and his toils, let our tears assuage thy sorrows.

LET the friends of science mourn! He was the patron of learning, and in public and private life, endeavored to promote the encrease of knowledge in his country.

YE American farmers, mourn! The farmer of Mount-Vernon was your friend; to promote the interests of agriculture, was an object of his peculiar attention.

YE merchants of America, mourn! To extend, promote, and protect your commerce, employed his assiduous care.

YE ministers of the holy gospel, and all ye friends of religion, mourn! He was your patron and your friend. Let infidels hear it and repent. The great, the good, the illustrious Washington acknowledged his God in all his ways, The *political savior of his country*, loved, worshipped and adored, the SAVIOR OF THE WORLD.

YE venerable matrons, and ye grey haired fathers, mourn! When your sons shall hereafter be called to risk their lives in their country's cause, you will no longer exultingly say, Washington leads.

ALL ye sons and ye daughters of Columbia, mourn! when dangers from without, or dangers from within shall hereafter

assail us, we can no longer exultingly exclaim, Washington lives.

Ye soldiers of America, mourn! The soldier's pride, the soldier's boast, the soldier's friend is gone.

Ye veteran soldiers of America; ye who have fought under his banners, and conquered by his side, I know not in what language to address you. Shall I call to your remembrance the days when, with all his country in his heart, he led you forth into the crimson field of war? Recollect the persevering patriotism with which he endured the toils, the hardships, and the dangers of the bloody conflict; recollect the unceasing attention which he always paid to your interest, and the unbounded affection with which he always honored you. He called not on you to fight, to make an addition to the sable list of tyrants; he called not on you to bleed, to encrease the number of slaves. Under his guidance you have reared a fabric of freedom, the most glorious the world hath ever beheld. Your amiable general; your beloved Washington, is no more. My honored friends, my heart bleeds for you; I will not tell *you* to mourn.

Ye departed ghosts of heroes, who have nobly fallen in this your country's cause; we envy you not this great addition to your happiness; receive your illustrious leader; it is enough for you; but if ye can, give us the consolation of a moment's grief for us.

Ye angelic hosts——but ye cannot weep. O! then pity a weeping nation.

But I forbear—words are not necessary to excite our sorrow. Does not every eye bespeak our grief, and every heart with rending anguish bemoan our loss. Let us rather look around for some ray of comfort; and is there any comfort? Yes, my countrymen, there is: to live, to die, is the lot of human nature. "An angel's arm could not have snatched him from the grave;" but O sweet consolation, ten thousand angels can't confine him there. Already his immortal spirit has been con-

ducted to the regions of joy, and at the sound of the archangel's solemn trump, he will rise, cheerfully rise, to receive an ample reward for all his virtuous deeds, in those realms of bliss, where rivers of delight incessantly flow, and where there are pleasures for evermore.

And here, my countrymen, let us make a solemn pause.—— It has pleased the Almighty Ruler of the universe, who doth his will and pleasure in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of this earth, to bereave us of our dearest friend—— "the first in peace, the first in war, and the first in all our hearts." Let us improve this painful calamity in such a manner, as to evince the sincerity of our grief, and the reality of our sorrow. Let us emulate his many virtues, and constantly set before us his bright example. We cannot all be Washingtons; he was the peculiar favorite of heaven; but we can all be *patriots*, and all Christians. Like him, let us love our country, and in our different stations, exert ourselves to promote its welfare. While we lament a Washington, dead; let us honor and support an Adams, living. Like him let us love our God, and revere his holy law; by so doing, we shall truly honor his memory, and prove to the world that our beloved Washington still lives; that he lives in our hearts. Yes, honored shade! thy name is there engraven, and while gratitude remains on earth it shall live. We will tell our children, and they shall tell their children, of all the good thou hast done for us, for them, and for the world. The aged parent shall recount thy heroic actions, and the lisping babe shall repeat them. From generation to generation, every father shall teach his son to venerate thy WORTH, and to honor thy TOMB.

Eulogy on the illustrious GEORGE WASHINGTON—*pronounced at Milton. By* CHARLES PINCKNEY SUMNER.

INDUSTRY pauses from her once cheering labors—the solemn dirge takes place of the song of mirth;—our country is in tears—her WASHINGTON is no more!

THIS day she would fondly have numbered *sixty-eight* years, since propitious heaven, regardful of her coming trials, had given him to her aid: proud that he had fulfilled his high destination, and still continued her faithful defender, she would not have turned a melancholy thought to the perils, through which he had conducted her. The lively cannon would have been but the feint echo to her joy;—the festal board, the sparkling glass and pleasure-beaming eye would have been but the feeble emblem of national hilarity. Henceforth the night of his death will be consecrated to sorrow, and shrouded in gloom congenial with the majesty of her grief. The annual return of this once joyful day will long be sacred to her most tender, loving sensations, and the smile her countenance may learn to resume, will receive a melting charm from the tear she cannot suppress.

WHEN fame with swollen eye, first announced our public calamity; we looked, we heard with a responsive sigh: and because she trembled while she spoke,—we permitted ourselves the hope that report might prove illusive. But this uncertainty,—this painful uncertainty was too dear to endure; the solemn knell, the deepning, universal aspect of woe soon placed beyond the reach of hope, what our boding hearts feared but too true.

HERE is a subject, my friends, on which you all can be eloquent; it becomes the sacred place devoted to its contemplation; it excites the best, and none but the best feelings of Americans:—as they prize their country, they cherish the memory of her hero, and love at a respectful, admiring distance, to follow him through the vicissitudes of her fate.

With a mind expanded by the most liberal pursuits, a heart enamored with the charms of honor, devotion to his country was his first, his ruling passion. From an early military career, he retired with a blooming reputation to the best, well-earned enjoyment of life. With easy dignity he looses the soldier in the citizen, and graces the arts of peace as well as war. Born for the universe, a province is too small a theatre for the display of his talents; and the situation of our country soon opened the mightier field of his destiny.

With conscious pride he gloried in the prosperity of his king and country;—but for colonial degradation and subserviency he had not drawn his ready, his victorious sword. American patience had been put to the intolerable test; the plain of Lexington had drank the blood of its peaceful cultivators; when from that illustrious band of patriots, where first concentred the wounded sensibilities of our country—is Washington commissioned to marshal and direct the rising energies of freedom.

It is a needless, as it would be a painful task, to dwell on facts all know too well; or to resuscitate the feelings that are better at rest: suffice it to remind you, that yonder hills almost in sight first received the American hero to the toils of fame: retaining still the vestiges of war, they will lecture succeeding generations, and teach them to guard their native soil from every insidious, selfish friend, or haughty foe: their wounded fronts will frown on degeneracy, if every hill in America does not rise, like the heights of Dorchester, to expel invasion from our indignant shores.

In the presence of Washington, resistance assumed a formidable attitude, confidence looked cheerful, and valor renerved the arm still bleeding from the carnage where Warren fell: but the two transient duration of patriotic fervor,—the genius of our valiant thousands too unfriendly to the restraints of discipline,—the poverty and unpreparedness of the colonies to meet the incalculable extent of their object, created anxieties and embarrassments which very few were permitted to share; which no one perhaps who does not, like him, combine in his character

the talents and the feelings of the statesman, the patriot and soldier, can duly appreciate.

THE hero's mind rose with the magnitude of his task. Opposition and defeat itself served only to confirm his resolution, and call forth the resources of an exhaustless mind.—Independence was declared: and in the blackest hours of disaster Washington never dispaired of his country.

ONCE only (forgive him freemen) ere his army had become inured to the well directed vollies of discipline, the yielding ranks of his retreating soldiery displayed the frightful impressions of a veteran enemy:—for one painful moment he thought all was lost;—that Americans were unworthy the freedom, for which they too feebly contended; and shocked to desperation, wished by a fortunate, honorable death to free himself from the intolerable spectable of his country enslaved.

WHEN terror spread her darkest clouds over our land; when an unfed, unclothed army, marked the ice and the snow with the blood of their retreating footsteps; when the sword of destruction seemed suspended only by a hair; while rumor with her hundred mouths, if possible, magnified our distresses; and tortured, languishing hope almost breathed her last;—the brilliant achievement at Princeton turned aside the current of fate; the accomplished but too sanguine Burgoyne is overwhelmed in the rising tide of our fortune;—the close invested standards of Yorktown droop submission to the allied arms;—deluded despotism soon gave up the fruitless toils of subjugation, the shattered remnants of baffled invasion are withdrawn, and independence is confirmed.

THE patriot army now felt the too scanty, delusive recompense for their heroic toils;—seven years with joyful obedience had they heard the orders of their chief thunder along the embattled line: the wounds of injured bravery bled afresh;—they recoiled at the idea of dissolution. Then might ambition have seen his time and smiled; then would have trembled the liberties

of America had Washington aspired to any other crown than her happiness. In language ardent as his heroism, tender as his affection, he appeals to their untarnished honor ; they revered him as a father ;—the appeal was resistless. They saw the conflicting emotions of his breast ; those eyes, which had long witnessed their toils, which had often smiled at their glory, and wept at their sufferings, with keen anxiety now pierced their souls ; they forget themselves ; a pearly tear steals down every cheek ; the latent evil spark is quenched ; their patriotism reflames ; with one heart and voice they resolve to confide in the justice of the country they had left all to serve, and give the world the illustrious, rare example of ' an army victorious over its enemies, victorious over itself.'

His farewell interview with these his dear-loved companions can now be faintly imagined : how he stood,—how he looked, when each advanced to take the last friendly, impassioned embrace ;—when with a glass in his hand and tears glistening in his eyes he wished to each his future life might be happy, as his past had been honorable ;—let those speak who have witnessed, let those attempt to describe who feel themselves equal to the melting scene.

The war-worn veteran whose feelings have not rusted with his sword, will relate the story to his listening son ;—smile to see his warm heart susceptive to the touch of glory—and fondly destine him for that profession of which no dalliance in the lap of ease has obliterated the charms, no reverse of fortune allayed his admiration.

Americans, what a vast weight of your revolution did this mighty man sustain ! Taxes were indeed great, were burdensome ; but think how often your army was obliged to evade a decisive blow ; think of the complicated hardships they endured (the relation of which might make you shudder)—because the flame of public spirit too soon died away, and the resources of the country had become inaccessible. What must Washington have often felt ! Every eye in America,—in wondering, doubtful Europe, was fixt on him. He was a man of humanity ;—not a

centinel felt a grievance he did not painfully commiserate ; he was a man of consummate bravery ;—and to add to the full measure of his calamity, the country, whose fate was hourly in his hand, began to murmur, to reproach him with delay :—delicate situation ! unconquerable greatness of soul ! His reputation, dearer to a soldier than life, he sacrificed to your good.

Americans, the hostile cannon has ceased to shake your houses and your hills ; the falling shell no more with horrid glare swells the terrors of the night ;—think one moment in peace of the untold distresses that might, that would have been your portion, had not your toils for freedom been crowned with success. The Rubicon was passed ; the hour of compromise elapsed. Washington ! the heart recoils at his fate ; and resigns it to your own imaginations : As for you—you might have received his majesty's most gracious pardon—might have reposed in the tranquil despair of subjugated India—or been blest with the liberty, under which distracted, bleeeding Ireland now groans ; Cornwallis might here, instead of there, have been governing the provinces his myrmidons had ravished ; which his presumptious imagination had fondly marked out as an empire for himself ! Happy countrymen ! retire to your homes, however humble ; enjoy your peace, your competence and your love !—kiss the children that throng around your knee, teach them to bless God, that they are not born to the inheritance of slavery, nor doomed to the horrors of mutual destruction !

Surrendering his commission and bidding adieu to public life, Washington, amid the gratulations of thousands, through ways strewed with flowers, retired to those peaceful shades, of which long absence and mighty cares had heightened the enjoyment.

He retired ; but he did not retire within himself. His mind was intent to bless his fellow-men. Unprotected worth found in him a warm patron and friend : Poverty repressed her sigh, forgot injustice and smiled complacent on the bounty of his soul. The public welfare was still the darling object of his heart, and whatever could promote it, it was his chief happiness to pursue,

The picture which our common country presented on the attainment of peace is fresh on every mind.—Her victory had secured her freedom : but such a freedom as secured too few of the blessings of social life, and threatened to be of short duration. The states breathed hard from their struggle, and exhausted with the burden and heat of the revolutionary day, were divesting themselves of the bands of a too feeble confederation ; and fast dissolving into imbecility and disgrace. Faith was worn out ; credit had been swolen till it had burst ; justice not only blind, but deaf and dumb, with scales reversed and blunted sword, could neither help her votaries, nor protect herself ; the defenders of their country almost addressed themselves to her compassion ; the poor soldier begged his bread through the land he had saved ; and the fair but trembling fabric of society almost threatened ruin to those it scarcely sheltered.

The prescient sage of Mount Vernon had foreseen these approaching evils ; and early recommended to the several states the adoption of such general measures as could alone give permanence to the national felecity, that independence put within their reach.

The body politic still survived, healthful and strong in the feelings, manners and principles, which immemorial virtuous habit had incorporated into her nature. The hectic of internal faction had scarcely enfeebled her vitals, nor had foreign intrigue assumed the hardihood to seduce her from herself, and tear her limb from limb.

At length " in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty"—the federal constitution of the United States, the result of his presiding wisdom, was adopted, as it was formed in ' a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensible.' God grant that in this spirit it be long preserved, that so it may preserve those for whose boon it is designed !

At the unanimous call of his fellow-citizens, which he could never hear but with duty and respect, he relinquishes every private consideration to make a people happy. Laborious days and sleepless nights are now his welcome portion : The government of your choice commences its auspicious operation, and Washington presides. Say, did not then every countenance look contentment ; every dwelling speak prosperity, and your fields assume a more luxuriant smile ? Commerce, then safe in her innocence, spread your rising name to the borders of the earth, and wafted you the productions of every clime. You rapidly grew, the envy of the world ; were acknowledged happiest, freest, of mankind, and disappointed the doating wish of those who seek with eagle eye, in the miscarriage of republics, a pretext for the enormities of despotism.

Americans, this is a trait of the enchanting picture which Europe admired, confessed was yours, and kindled into freedom, while she viewed. Will you disclaim it ? Does too close inspection and intimacy with the original destroy its truth ? Is it too highly colored ?—Alas, Washington was not omnipotent ! Earth is not a paradise !—

For eight years he conducted the bark of state ; the political sky was tempestuous, the winds and the waves were sometimes unhappily in adverse directions ; her path was untraversed and various minds prevailing with regard to her course, many seemed more disposed to counsel the pilot than obey his orders. —Strict justice was the compass by which he steered ; he respected the wishes of all, and never went counter to the advice of those whom it was his duty to consult ; amid innumerable difficulties the way of safety was that of glory.—Sedulously regarding the interests of all, he relied with just confidence on the attachment of an omnipotent majority. With the conscious invulnerability of virtue, he pardoned the harmless, expected aspersions of the unworthy ; and pursued the firm resolve of his unbiassed equal mind. The arduous difficulties of republican elevation were at lenth appreciated ; and all acquiesced in his decree. Having navigated her through the dangers of her outset, accustomed her powers to the gale ; and done all that

human wisdom and integrity could effect, if not all that extravagance could wish; he gave affectionate farewell advice to those on board, well calculated to make them wise to salvation, and resigning the helm to able, faithful, experienced hands, sought the tranquil privacy which a far spent glorious life had rendered 'as necessary as welcome.'

But his feelings were too keen for his happiness.—Our rich unprotected commerce on all sides falling a devoted prey: our country meeting the indignity abroad, which her upright pacific policy had not deserved, and compelled to assume a defensive posture; her Washington is still himself; though mighty cares had impaired his strength, the venerable sage with ready hand resumes his faithful sword—that sword, whose unsullied justice did 'blind men with its beams,'—and like that of Eden flame every way to guard invaded right.—America was in array; for who would not throng the standard he would raise—who would not croud the ranks of war in the cause for which Washington would contend?

Here was the last stage of his long career of renown. The pride of his country, the wonder of mankind has like a soldier, obeyed the high summons of the God of armies. His associates, in the toils of glory, were hourly falling. He stood almost alone on the field of fame, and was prepared for the expected stroke of fate. The calm fortitude and presence of mind, with which he had often stood the shock of battle, did not forsake him in his last unequalled triumphant conflict.

The worthy disconsolate partner of his heart, we thank for the life-long smile with which she smoothed his brow; and gave his magnanimous cares to the service of his country; we wish her every consolation, earth or heaven can bestow. May the decline of her life's mild day be gilded with the calm sunshine of the soul, and future generations rise up and call her blessed! —His fellow-laborers in war and peace, we thank for the persevering fortitude and wisdom with which they aided our beloved chief; they have claims on us which we cannot cancel, but with

glory,—which grateful, admiring postery will be too proud to evade. These he loved, to these we resign with painful sympathy, the sad pre-eminence of grief; but, my fellow-countrymen, we were all near and dear to him,—and his memory shall endure—shall be revered forever.

Bright must be the talents that presume to illustrate one action of his life. The unanimity with which he was twice elected president—the universal, deep-felt regret, when he declined their future suffrages;—the constant devotedness to his fellow-citizens, which no period of his life ceased to manifest; and the deep aspect of sorrow this day presents;—these all designate the *man who* most pre-eminently *united all hearts;* they speak his only adequate,—exalted eulogy, and declare in language unequivocally loud, a nation's unabated confidence and love. To praise him in any audience the world could produce, would be a dull display of arrogance;—with Americans it would be intolerable; for who does not love his country, and revere her best earthly benefactor? Who cannot see the sun in the firmament? Who cannot hear the thunder of the sky?—The taper only deadens itself that presumes to encrease the splendor of noon day.

What is the noble endowment he did not possess? with an urbanity, that treated with the most obliging respect those from whose opinion he could not but assent; and with a prudence that in any other character might well have compensated the greatest moral deficiency; he marshalled the phalanx of his virtues to the benefit of his fellow-men. The spirit of republicanism almost resigned to him the sceptre of your affections; he ruled in your hearts. Our history is scarcely more than his biography, our freedom and happiness the noblest, we trust unfading picture of his services and virtues.

What was once Washington has been deposited with every testimonial of gratitude our country can bestow: on this occasion only does she lament her republican simplicity, unequal to her pomp of woe; but she consoles herself, that wherein her magnificence has been deficient, her affection has been transcendant;

and that her hero has departed with a lustre that kings may sigh for, but sigh in vain.

The sun of glory is set; the hemisphere is darkened; smaller luminaries may now rise and shine: The sun of glory is set—but his course is bright with inextinguishable beams. He has thrown light on most beclouded regions, and taught mankind the dignity of man. Illustrious nation, over whom he has shone, to whose temperament his mild radiance was congenial; —happy those, who, in other climes attempting to move in his orbit, neither consume themselves nor their country in the flame they raise, but cannot control.—Thrice blest mankind, where liberty can wear a tearless smile, and virtue trust her constant friends.

The shades of Vernon to remotest time, will be trod with awe; the banks of Potomac will be hallowed ground. The aged oak shall sigh plaintive in the breeze. The little skiff shall suspend the laboring oar, and in soft melancholy twilight glide in silence by the sacred spot where drooping willows mark the sage's tomb. The alert seaman, while his well trimmed bark moves majestic on the moaning wave, shall with proud respect, strike the topsail he has reared in every quarter of the globe.

In some far distant commercial port, our fellow-countrymen hail this day with joy. The flags of all nations lightly wave from a forest of masts; all is gaiety. Around the bounteous board they wish health and long life to him whose name on their sea-letter has served them instead of cannon, ensured them respect wherever they displayed the American stars. Some neighboring fortress shakes the friendly coast with its responsive roar; the sons of Columbia cast a long look of filial respect to their native land, and unconscious of the mournful spectacle, she now presents,—rejoice that her defender lives!—Good souls! let them enjoy the passing hour of mirth, 'where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.'

Illustrious man! in what region of the earth has not thy name been heard with praise? Posterity shall admire and love

thee :—And if, in the vast orb of thy glory, our darkened optics can descry a spot, we trust it will, like those of the sun, be soon obsorbed in thy pure effulgence. The temporary clouds which, for thy country, thou hast permitted to obscure thy deeds, time will soon dispel, and thy fame will brighten with the flight of years.

Americans,

For a life devoted to your service, what does Washington deserve ? The rising trophied column shall from far attract the admiring eye. The enduring statue with emulative care will present to revering posterity his august attitude and awful form. History shall be immortal, as just to his worth. Poesy shall robe him in unborrowed charms. A city, after the majestic model of his mind, bearing his name, shall concentrate our national glory, as he does our affections.—These a grateful empire will voluntarily pay ; but, he deserves more ;—he deserves the only reward he would ever accept, he deserves that you be faithful to yourselves, that you be free, united and happy : That party asperity from this memorable day subside ; and all with liberal eye seek private interest in the common weal.

Thus shall your elective government, the true mirror of the general will, present an image that can never be disowned, and millions rise a standing army in support of the constitution and laws by which they are blest. Insurrection from the quiet sleep of death will not rear her devoted head,—invasion never dream of your shores, or be appalled at the view : Peace at home will ensure invincibility abroad : You shall fear no shock but that of the universe. The old worthies, who with Washington illumed and cherished the tempered, undying flame of freedom, shall never shake their white locks, and sigh that their labors have been in vain. Your union shall subsist to everlasting generations, the best, the deserved *monument* to his fame, who led the army that achieved your independence ;—who presided in the councils, that commenced your endless career of happiness.

Funeral oration, occasioned by the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON *; and delivered in the episcopal church, at New-Rochelle, in the state of New-York. By* SAMUEL BAYARD, *Esq.*

Friends and fellow-citizens,

NOT to mourn with a mourning country—not to mingle our tears with those of the American people on the present melancholy occasion, would argue a reproachful want of social sympathy. And not in some public manner to express the regrets we feel at the irreparable loss our country has just sustained, would be an impeachment of our sensibility as men, and of our patriotism as citizens.

THROUGH the channel of our public prints, we learn that our country mourns the departure of her first and favorite son. On this occasion "the mourners" emphatically "go about the streets," and the traces of "grief unfeigned" are beheld in the public countenance. On the arms of every class of our fellow-citizens we see the emblems of that sorrow which their bosoms feel. Our national council stand forward in the first rank of mourners; every public body through the union follows in the sad procession. Our churches are clad in black. Their tolling bells in unison with the public sentiment, add solemnity to the scene, and deepen the gloom that beclouds the public mind. Our army—our navy—every political circle—every religious denomination—how divided soever in their sentiments on other topics, all unite in deploring the loss of the most universally beloved and respected character, which this, or any country on earth; which this, or any prior age has ever produced.

YES, my friends, the sighs and tears of our afflicted country, on every side proclaim, that WASHINGTON is dead! As if an angel from heaven had announced it, the melancholy intelligence is every where heard with sorrow and dismay. We ask ourselves if it be possible, that one so eminent for talents, so enobled by his virtues, so rich in the esteem and affection of his country, is indeed no more. Alas! the event is but too certain.

Washington, the hero, the sage, the friend of liberty, and the father of his country, is now sleeping in his grave. Never more shall his majestic form be seen at the head of our armies; never more shall his enlivening voice be heard in the hall of our national senate; his wisdom and experience shall no longer direct our councils, nor his presence again call forth the enthusiastic admiration of his country.

MUTE is that tongue, whose acccents were never heard but with attention and respect; and lifeless that form which once attracted the gaze of thousands. Low it lies beneath the "clods of the valley," never to rise again, till the trump of the great arch-angel shall wake it from the dead.

YET, could talents the best employed, or virtues the most sublime; could the prayers of surrounding friends, or the influence of medical skill; could the wishes, or supplications of an affectionate and grateful country have suspended the immutable decree of heaven, his life would have been immortal as his fame. But no, his work was finished—his tour of earthly duty closed—and that awful moment had arrived when his manly frame must "return to the dust as it was," and his enlightened "spirit to the God who gave it."

THE removal of such a character from a state of trial, to a state of rest, is an event calculated to inspire every reflecting mind with pious awe. It is calculated to awaken those sentiments of esteem and veneration which we have been accustomed to cherish for the ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD; and it calls upon every citizen who honors merit, or who loves his country, to pay the tribute of a tear, to the memory of the boast and ornament of the present age.

YET what can we do, or what can we say, that can add to the lustre of his fame. As well might we by the aid of a taper endeavor to add splendor to yonder sun, as to encrease his reputation by our praise. His own actions, and his own sentiments, recited with that simplicity which characterised his stile of writing and of speaking, will ever constitute his highest eulogium.

STILL, however his merits may transcend our praise, we can express our admiration of his character, and our gratitude for his services; and although we have neither wealth nor power to raise a mausoleum to his memory, we can embalm his virtues with our tears, and raise a monument to his glory, in the affections of our hearts.

So many are the splendid and good actions of his life; so numerous and impressive the maxims of sound and liberal policy delivered to his country, since she first assumed a place among the nations of the world, that merely to recite them, would fill a volume. Be this the historian's duty; and be it ours at present simply to point out a few of those estimable tracts of character, and of those eminent services which have raised our Washington's, above every Grecian and Roman name; above every name that stands on the records of modern history.

THERE are two characters in which he has appeared most familiar to our minds; as a hero, and a sage; as our GENERAL in war, and our PRESIDENT in peace; in each of these characters, requiring qualifications so different, let us for a moment contemplate this unequalled man. In both we shall find him exhibiting those high endowments of mind, and those excellent qualities of heart, which have rendered him an honor to his country, and a blessing to the world.

"IN war" says an author* (now second in point of rank in the federal government) "In war we have produced a Washington, whose memory will be adored while liberty shall have votaries; whose name will triumph over time, and will in future ages assume its just station among the celebrated worthies of the world, when that wretched philosophy shall be forgotten, that would arrange him among the degeneracies of nature."

ALTHOUGH not educated a soldier; although unskilled in military tactics, and unpractised in the European system of war; we behold him at the voice of his country, (expressed by

* *Mr. Jefferson.*

the unanimous vote of its delegates in congress) assuming the chief command of an army, raised in defence of the rights, and to prevent the subjugation, of these states.

He undertook this important and hazardous charge, not for the sake of personal emolument. With a generosity as disinterested as it was unexampled, when he first accepted the appointment, he expressly declined receiving any compensation for his services. From this resolution he never departed. Whatever increase of fortune others may have derived from the American revolution; whatever rewards other generals may have received from the gratitude of their country, the COMMANDER IN CHIEF declined every compensation offered for his unparalleled services. He wished for no reward, save the approving voice of his own conscience and of his fellow-citizens. Nor was honor more than emolument his aim, in accepting this appointment. What honor could he expect to derive from commanding a body of undisciplined militia—a hasty association of citizens; who, whatever might be their enthusiasm for liberty, or their native bravery, must prove unequal opponents to men who had been trained to arms; to veteran soldiers whose profession was war, and whom discipline had rendered obedient as machines.

No, the great ruling principle of his life, was love to his country, zeal for her interest and welfare, founded on rules of eternal justice. It was this sublime principle which supported him amidst the trials, the dangers and fatigues which he had to encounter during the three first years of the American contest. It was from a conviction that his governing motive was the public good, that the American people, notwithstanding their early disasters, never lost their confidence in him. They were satisfied of his talents, and they were still more assured of his zeal and sincerity in the cause he had espoused. What other character beside himself could have kept together the shattered remains of our army at the close of the unfortunate campaign of '76? Had he through fear for his person or his property; through levity, disgust, or despondence, then abandoned the cause of liberty, who afterwards could have rallied the brok-

en, dispirited remains of our federal army? Who could have roused a sufficient spirit in the country to oppose any effectual resistance to the victorious troops of Britain? This was a period of trial; and at this period the firmness, the intrepidity, the patience and heroism of our COMMANDER IN CHIEF, like the beams of a bright and cheering star, suddenly bursting from beneath a thick cloud in a stormy night, shone forth to the astonishment and joy of United America. From the lowest state of depression, the public mind was now elevated to hope, and encouraged to perseverance.

THE eventful campaign of '77, though attended with some disasters, terminated advantageously to the American cause. The capture of one entire British army, and the resolute resistance opposed to another, ensured us at the commencement of the campaign of '78, the effectual aid of France. An aid, prompted by whatever motive—whether by that of reducing the power of an ancient rival, of aggrandizing herself, or of revenging former losses and defeats, was nevertheless of incalculable importance in the establishment of American independence. From this time our affairs brightened till the glorious campaign of '81, which ended with the capture of a second British army, under the command of one of the most able and enterprizing generals that Britain could boast. This decisive event satisfied the English government that the subjugation of America was impracticable, and led to the final acknowledgment of American independence.

THE close of war, and the return of peace, so pleasing to all, was peculiarly grateful to the heart of our excellent Washington. He loved retirement. He had left it with regret, wholly from a sense of duty, and not from a wish for change. With pleasure he anticipated the moment when he should again lose the commander of an army in the private citizen. That moment had now arrived. His services as a general are no longer necessary. His army is about to be disbanded. He is about to be separated (possibly for ever) from the companions of his cares and dangers, from men who for eight years had shared his perils and anxieties, and who had been witnesses of

his wisdom and his valor. But at this closing scene of the drama, he is not permitted to sheathe the sword and return to his loved retreat, without performing a memorable service to his country—a service in which his personal agency, his zealous and well timed exertions, prevented a great national evil ; prevented his army from tarnishing the laurels he had acquired through a long and glorious war, and instead of *defenders*, becoming the *despoilers* of their country.

The pay of this army was greatly in arrear. They had received already much of what was due to them in a depreciated paper currency. In discharge of what their country still owed, the same currency, and remote unsettled lands were to form the materials of their compensation. They were about to return to the pursuits of civil life, with only the shadow of reward, for years of danger and of toil ; for health impaired, and the prime of life devoted to the public service. They expected more of their country. Their country regretted that their exhausted resources then enabled them to do no more. The army urged by the artful insinuations of an anonymous writer, were on the point of rising, while yet embodied, and of wresting from their country by force, that compensation which they had in vain demanded of its justice. Never did zeal for the welfare of his country, and the honor of his army, blaze forth with greater splendor even in the actions of a Washington, than on this occasion. By private influence ; by public persuasion ; by an appeal to the honor of soldiers, and the patriotism of citizens ; by the regard they owed to their personal character, and their country's good ; by every motive that could influence a generous mind, he conjured them to disband in peace, and to expect from the justice and gratitude of their country, what they were instigated to extort by violence. His influence was triumphant. He succeeded in preserving the honor of his army and his country from an unnatural civil war.

This great object accomplished, we see the American HERO resigning the chief command of the army, and retiring into private life, amid the plaudits and benedictions of his admiring country. He hoped ; he believed he had now taken a final fare-

well of public life. His glory seemed to be complete. It appeared to be placed beyond the reach of fortune's hand, and to have had the seal of immortality impressed upon it. But no; the will of heaven had otherwise decreed. New cares and new duties await him. Again his character is to pass through the furnace of general scrutiny, and his fame once more be launched on the restless ocean of popular opinion.

THE feebleness of our general government every day becoming more and more notorious; the decay of our commerce; the decline of manufactures; the loss of individual and national credit; the weakness of some states, and the interfering claims of others, threatening to involve us in domestic broils, and exposing us to the attack of any foreign invader; imperiously demanded the review of our articles of confederation, and the substitution in their place, of an efficient form of government. A convention is according assembled. A plan of national government is framed. It is recommended to the people. It is adopted and put in operation.

AGAIN this great and good MAN, by the unanimous voice of his country is called to sit at the helm of the new government, and to execute its laws. He accepts the call, but not for himself. Once more he expressly declines receiving any emolument for his services. At the close of the first period, for which he had been elected PRESIDENT, had he consulted only his personal ease or enjoyment he would have quitted his elevated station, and returned to private life. But higher motives influenced his mind. Love to his country, and the critical state of her affairs, induced him again at the uninfluenced, unanimous call of his fellow-citizens to accept the charge of presiding over the United States. With what fidelity; with what judgment; with what firmness and devotion of time and talents, he fulfilled the duties of this high station, no American citizen need be informed.

WE have seen him in all his measures, endeavoring to promote or preserve the peace, the welfare, and the happiness of his country. We have seen him filling the various departments of government with men of talents, of integrity, and of private

worth. We have seen him sacrificing his personal attachments on the altar of the public good; and amidst all the obloquy heaped on him by a few factious spirits, who were more friendly to the views of a foreign power, than to the interests of their own government; we in no instance see him taking any measure from resentment, but with a magnanimity above all praise, suffering the slanders that were propagated, to die unnoticed.

FIRMNESS of mind was a quality for which he was eminently distinguished. But when was this estimable trait of character more strikingly displayed, than in the conduct he observed towards the first ambassador of republican France.

WHEN that bold, but ill-advised minister, seconded by a powerful party among ourselves, endeavored to subject the measures of our government, to the will of his own—when he sought by every artifice to involve us in a war with Great-Britain; and when, on discovering the fixed resolution of our government, to preserve a neutrality amid the contentions of the European powers, he threatened to appeal from the decision of the PRESIDENT, to that of the people; what was the conduct of our immortal Washington? Convinced of the rectitude of his own views, and the soundness of his policy; fearless of the threatened resentment of France, and superior to the clamours of party, we see him stand like a firm and venerable oak, against which the storms of faction beat with fury; but beat in vain.

ANOTHER crisis soon occurred in our affairs, which required the exercise of inflexible firmness, and consummate prudence.

THE first naval power in the world, proud of her own strength, and fortified by an alliance with the governments, that first coalesced to crush the democratic system of France, at the close of the year '93, issued orders, the tendency of which was to ruin the commerce of the United States. Our unarmed merchantmen were seized, wherever met, by British cruisers; conveyed into British ports, and there condemned. Their cargoes without discrimination were confiscated, and our wretched seamen destitude of aid in foreign countries, and stripped of every

thing valuable, by the hands of merciless captors, were obliged to borrow, or to beg, the means of returning to their native country. The public mind indignant at these spoliations on our trade, was prepared at every risk, for defensive war: Our national council too, feeling for the injured dignity, and adopting the sentiments of their constituents, commenced a system of measures that must soon have led to an open rupture with Great-Britain.

All eyes were now directed to the CHIEF MAGISTRATE of the Union. In circumstances so embarrassing, what conduct could he pursue that would at once secure the interest, and preserve the honor of the United States. Uninfluenced by resentment, or by party spirit, and consulting only the true honor and interest of his country, he resolves on making one great effort to avert the calamities of war; persuaded that if unsuccessful in the attempt, his fellow-citizens would be more united and determined in measures of defence.

In prosecution of this system of pacific policy, we see him with equal judgment and patriotism, selecting as the messenger of peace, a citizen* of known prudence and ability, whose firmness, integrity, and eminent public services, had long endeared him to his country, and fixed him in her confidence. A negociation takes place. Commenced with moderation and good faith, it could not prove abortive. It resulted in a treaty, afterwards ratified by the PRESIDENT, with the approbation of the SENATE, which preserved our national honor, and, what was of more importance than language can describe, saved us from the fearful vortex of a most destructive war.

To prevent the ratification of this treaty, and thus to embroil us in a war with England, every artifice which French intrigue could devise, was practised, but happily without effect. Neither flattery nor abuse could divert the steady, undeviating mind of our enlightened PRESIDENT, from pursuing that line of conduct which became the government of a neutral nation.

* *Mr. Jay, the present governor of New-York.*

At this momentous epoch, the friends of virtue, and the lovers of peace, in Europe, as well as in America, beheld his manly and judicious conduct, and beheld it with mingled astonishment and delight. In their eyes, as in ours, he seemed,

> *" Like some tall rock that lifts its awful form,*
> *Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm ;*
> *Tho' round its breast, the rolling clouds be spread,*
> *Eternal sunshine settles on its head."**

From the elevated place of PRESIDENT of the United States, we see him now voluntarily descend, and once more retire to the humble duties and enjoyments of private life. He retires, full of glory as of years ; and like the setting sun, retains a fuller orb of greatness, than when in the meridian of life and power.

The hostile language and conduct of France, within the last three years having rendered defensive armaments necessary, by land as well as by sea, once more his country claims his aid, as the commander of her forces. He assists in organizing the army, and notwithstanding the infirmities of age, and his predilection for private life, stands prepared to take the field, should it be necessary, in defence of his native land. But while discharging the duties of this high command, he is summoned by heaven to another scene. A mortal disease attacks him. Its progress is rapid. It baffles the exertions of the most eminent professors of medicine. From its first approaches, he foresees its fatal issue. He arranges his affairs with composure. He languishes scarce twenty-four hours ; then with a resignation worthy of his useful life, on the fourteenth day of the last month, he finished his glorious career on earth, and hastened to that " bourne from which no traveller returns."

Return then great and virtuous spirit, to the bosom of thy Father and thy God ! While thy frame here moulders in the dust, bedewed with the tears of the worthy and the wise ; thy

* *Goldsmith.*

soul, freed from the shackles that chained it to the earth, shall wing its flight to regions of eternal bliss. May the tutelary angels who watch over the interests of this great and growing empire, welcome thee with triumph, to the abodes of the blest. There, amidst friends and companions of thine earthly labors; amid the sages and patriots of other ages, and other countries—encircled by a Warren and Montgomery; a Socrates and a Cato; a Sully and a Hampden; may'st thou taste those pure enjoyments, which saints and angels only know; which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard; neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive."

To us, who still travel on in this "vale of tears"—to us it belongs to honor his memory, and to imitate his virtues. While his country records his glory, and erects a monument to his fame, American citizens, to remotest ages, will hold his character in remembrance and esteem.

With pride and pleasure they will remember their beloved Washington, whose fame adds lustre to his age and country; in whose character were combined more exalted virtues, unalloyed by the extremes to which such virtues are most exposed, than in the character of any man of whom we have heard or read. Never did any man better understand the human character, or employ more suitable agents for the accomplishment of his views and plans. In a remarkable degree, he united genius, with judgment; the enterprize of youth, with the caution of age. He was brave, but not rash; fearless of death, but not prodigal of life. He possessed zeal without intemperance, liberality without profusion, and œconomy without avarice. His piety was rational and sincere, tinctured neither with superstition nor hypocrisy. His dignity never wore the garb of haughtiness, nor his modesty that of affection. Moderate in prosperity, he never lost his equanimity in misfortune—faithful to his friends, he pitied and forgave his enemies. He lived the hero, the statesman, and the sage; and died the humble, and resigned believer. Behold the man, whom while alive, his country esteemed and loved, and whose memory now, she "delights to honor."

AUTHOR of his being, and parent of every good! we bless thee for having raised up so great and good a man, and for having lent his precious life for such a lapse of years to the American people!

I CANNOT close this addreas in a manner more becoming, or in language so elegant and pathetic, as that used by our national senate in their letter of condolence to the president of the United States.

ADOPTING their words, every American may with truth, and from the heart say—" With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtue. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled on to the end of his journey and carried with him an encreasing weight of honor; he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favored of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

" SUCH was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated: Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example; his spirit is in heaven.

" LET his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage: Let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors, and his example, are their inheritance."

Oration, delivered to the citizens of Burlington, in commemoration of general GEORGE WASHINGTON. *By* WILLIAM GRIFFITH, *Esq.*

THE DAY, which for so many years has never returned, but to suffuse every eye with pleasurable recollection, and to gladden every heart with delightful anticipation—this day, which gave to human nature, an ornament ; to America, her greatest benefactor ; and to the world, a bright exemplar of every virtue, by a mysterious providence, has become an epoch of painful retrospection, and unavailing sorrow.

WHILST its annual returns gave to a grateful people, another, and another, opportunity of honoring the living object of their affections, the rapture of their possession seemed to repress the admonitions of time, or but faintly listened to the voice, which told us that WASAINGTON must die.

THIS event, which all knew would happen, was by all postponed ; and each one cherished the fond illusion, that he, who had surpassed all others, in glory and in usefulness, might also add a new prerogative to humanity, and exceed the ordinary limits of mortal existence.

VAIN were our wishes, and unrealized our hopes ! The deep, the extensive, the unceasing lamentation, which is heard throughout the American empire, proclaims to the world, that Washington is no more !

YES ! that mind which penetrated the destinies of his country—that courage which undertook her deliverance—that wisdom and fortitude which led her to independence—that love which planted the tree of liberty here, and watered it with the tears of parental solicitude—they no longer animate your Washington !

To you, who have felt the public shock, and added so many tears to the tide of public grief, it were unnecessary to

describe its extent, and unkind to retouch the sensibility, which an event so sudden and so affecting has produced in our country.

Invited through your preference on this day, dedicated by national respect to the commemoration of the illustrious dead, to exert my efforts—alas how unequal ! in rendering homage to his exalted character—it is due to my own convictions, and to your expectations, that I renounce the design of personal and historical panegyric.

I have no expressions which can convey an *eulogium* on Washington !——I stand not here to delineate his *person !*—— You, who saw him in the vigor of life, when prostrate freedom first dyed his cheek with flushes of resentment—indignant at her wrongs ! and the voice of his country summoned him to her succour—you can never forget his graceful form, and his commanding aspect.—We, who have seen him bending with years, and furrowed with public cares, can never forget the filial reverence which his presence inspired.—And to you, who have never seen him—and to posterity—a West and a Stewart, have given of his figure and countenance, whatever art could borrow from the life.

Nor do I stand here to recount his actions, or to grace with the splendors of language, his intrinsic claims to present and to future admiration.

The great drama, in which he bore so conspicuous a part, is over.—To review its august scenery—to rehearse its wonderful events—to follow him in all its vicissitudes, were equally superfluous, and impossible.

You require no register of his achievements ; for you were all witnesses of their performance, or partakers in their benefits—actors with him, or spectators ! they are imprinted on every heart, and live in characters indelible as his own unrivalled pre-eminence.

THE faithful page of history will hand down to succeeding ages, his exploits of war, and arts of peace:—To other pens must be committed the delightful office, with glowing rhetoric, and in immortal song, to trace the countless services which he rendered to his country, in unceasing honors, and boundless gratitude, by which they were rewarded.

WHILE orators mount through the annals of time, and examine the lists of fame, for subjects of historic resemblance, and models of eulogistic contrast, while poets and historians are emulous to transmit to other times, the striking incidents of his fortune and the varied brilliant succession of important actions, which distinguished him above other men—I would leave comparison to those who can find parallels; and the relation of battles and triumphs, to those who excel in epic eloquence.

ON this occasion you will permit me, my indulgent audience, to pursue a less splendid—but, may I hope, not an unpleasing theme.

I WOULD draw you from the contemplation of those past events, and personal objects, which so dazzle and captivate our senses—and fix your minds upon the INHERENT QUALIFICATIONS, which rendered his *life* so useful; his *example* so impressive; and his *precepts* so invaluable.

MY countrymen! If you have seen your enemy wasted, defeated, and driven from your borders, under his military guidance—if order, peace and happiness, have grown out of his civil administration—if his experience in war and in government claims your highest consideration, and his truth and love give intrinsic weight to his opinions—it is of the utmost importance, and an obvious duty, that we imitate the conduct, and pursue those maxims, which rendered him illustrious, and America powerful and happy.

HIS life—his virtues—and his principles address themselves to our imitation, in every relation, which connects us with each other, and with our common country.

Young Men of America!

THE early years of Washington, will teach you lessons of temperance, of industry, and of virtuous ambition.

AT an age, when other youth scarcely begin to think of their future deststination, he had acquired those solid endowments of mind, and those active habits of body, which were one day to point him out, and qualify him to be, the leader of her armies, and the protector of his counry.

HE despised the lethargy of indolence, and the allurements of pleasure; nor suffered himself to be enervated, by the soft voluptuousness, and not always guiltles dissipations, of thoughtless minority.

HE was, from his youth, fond of that fame which follows merit:—He sought for that honorable promotion; and waited, with modest expectation, for advancement to stations of higher rank, and more extensive usefulness.

HE was in arms before he gained his twentieth year: and when not yet twenty-two, performed, with equal judgment and intrepidity, a difficult and dangerous mission intrusted to him by the councils of his native state.

HE was not twentty-four, when he rescued from the rage of savage conquerors, the remnant of Braddock's devoted army; and gave those signal proofs of gallantry and prudence, which, in his general, had led to safety and honor.

THE fatigues of a frontier war, and the progress of a pulmonary disease, forced him, at twenty-seven, to resign the rank of a colonel, which he then held in the provincial army.

FROM that time, until he year 1775, when he accepted the command of the American forces, he was occupied in domestic duties, in agricultural improvements, and in executing the offices of a magistrate, a judge and a member of the legislature.

It was during this period of his life, a ſpace of about sixteen years, in which he investigated the principles, and matured his opinions, on the subject of government; and obtained that extensve acquaintance with the rights of his country, and the just liberties of his fellow-men; which to assert, defend and establish, became his arduous, but successful employment.

Let it not be said, that he owed his first elevation, or future greatness, to opulent patrimony, extensive patronage, or academic favors.

He began without fortune; and thought it no degradation to turn his knowledge of geometry, to the purposes of an honest independence.—He was an orphan at ten years old—and that patronage was far from powerful, which had designated him to an inferior naval appointment:—And in scholastic honors, often useless as they are undeserved, he commenced his important life, with no degrees but those, which virtuous resolutions confer on private diligence and useful study. How consoling should it be to the ingenuous bosom, which, in seeming obscurity, is panting for merited distinction, to perceive, that the most splendid hero, and accomplished legislator of the age, owed no share of his great reputation, to the accidental circumstances of birth and patronage—but raised his imperishable fame upon the basis of a disinterested patriotism, and the native virtues of an uncorrupted heart.

Be animated then, ye generous youth, to follow his great example:—Emulation must not be extinguished by despair; nor effort remitted from hopeless competition.

Be encouraged by the persuasion, that his usefulness and felicity, were founded on those qualities of the heart, which are of no uncommon growth; and those properties of the mind which are of no difficult acquirement.

Be diligent in your studies; be temperate in your pleasures; be active and fearless, in the pursuit of duty; aspire to honor through the paths of virtue; seek for public favors by public

benefits:—And, if Washington, has left you no empire to save, and no government to establish; yet your country still has room, for the display of all your talents—occasions for the exercise of all your virtues—and rewards for your most distinguished services.

Defenders of your Country!

If foreign aggression, or civil discord shall call you to the scene of war, let the image of Washington remind you of all which can dignify the soldier, or sanction the triumphs of a conqueror.

Remember, that he considered war, not as a trade, which was to enrich him with spoils, or wreath his temple with laurels, but as a necessary effort to wrest his country from oppression, and to crown her with peace and liberty.

The history, and the eulogy, of the crowd of warriors, which fame, or rather, which infamy, has perpetuated—what are they but a register of crimes against heaven and virtue—against innocence and the rights of mankind?

These, were like those lawless stars, which, with reddening glare approach our orbit, shooting terror into the hearts of men, and threatening the world with deluge and conflagration.

Not so, the Patriotic Chief of America!—He was the sun, which cheered and animated every heart, and spread around him, the effulgence of his own pure fires:—And if, sometimes, clouds obscured his ascent, his country never despaired—always confiding in that constancy, which knew no change—and that vigor, which was never exhausted.

In the history of those eight memorable campaigns, which spread over the face of America desolation and blood, you will learn the energies of his persevering fortitude—the resourses of his exhaustless genius—and the triumphs of his undaunted valor.

And whilst you are fired with emulation of his actions, let his motives and his moderation, direct and limit your ambition. Prosperity could never swell him into insolence; nor disaster sink him to despondence:—By the command of his passions, in the hour of success, he triumphed over victory herself; and he rose from defeat, only to inspire new confidence, and seize on glorious reparation.

In his official dispatches, his veracity and his modesty, were equally conspicuous:——He thought it both vain and immoral to overrate his good fortune; and even his losses he would not extenuate.

He softened the horrors of war, by offices of humanity—by the respect which he shewed to civil authority—to personal immunities—and to private property. He repressed the spirit of popular fury—and shielded from its intemperance, those of his countrymen, who from sincere, but misguided opinions, persisted in a harmless neutrality.

While he exacted discipline, he was incapable of cruelty; and, of his followers in arms, he demanded no pledge but fidelity, and exposed them to no hardships, in which he did not himself participate.

He was ever unwilling to fling away the lives of his brave, but humble companions, in rash adventure, or unequal conflict—always preferring their safety and the hopes of his country, to his own renown.—He was content, rather to enjoy the bloodless triumphs of a Fabius, than by bold and sanguinary enterprise, to grasp at the false and fatal glory of a Varro.

And when, at length, the liberties of America were confirmed, and no longer required an armed protector, he retired from the embraces of his faithful veterans, and amidst the acclamations of a grateful people, to the *retreat* from whence his country had drawn him—there to possess the rank of a free citizen, the only title he aspired to; and the love of his fellow-men, the only, and to him the sweetest reward, for all his services.

Legislators of America!

In the conduct and opinions of this great statesman, you possess an institute of national policy, recommended by all the force of experience, and all the demonstration of success.

In that high office, which for eight years he filled with such dignity and ability, he exerted his extensive influence, and his legitimate powers, to *consolidate* the confederacy, and give *unity* to the general government; firmly convinced, however social interests might suffer temporary loss, and the pride of petty sovereignty revolt at imaginary humiliation, that the duration of the American empire, and the real happiness of her people, must depend on the constitutional pursuit, and extension of this cardinal policy.

In that memorable address to his countrymen, on his retirement from office, he enforces this sentiment with repeated and emphatic expressions of its importance:—"This *unity* (says he) "is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the "support of your tranquility at home; of your peace abroad; "of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty, "which you so highly prize."

The preservation of "*public faith*," he presses upon you, by every motive of interest and honor—and as the source of public wealth, and a guarantee of the republic itself.

With that spirit of moderation, and rectitude, which ever governed his own conduct, he invites you to the observation of good faith and justice to *all nations;* to avoid inveterate antipathies, and passionate resentments; and cautions you, against the weakness of confiding in *foreign* protestations of national *fraternity*.—"It is a folly," he says, "for one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; it is an illusion, which experience must cure, and which a just pride ought to discard."

Against the arts of foreign intrigue, he warns you in the language of one who had encountered it in all its forms, and

saved his country a second time, from the subjugation which it threatened.—His own words are too expressive not to be repeated:—"Against the insidious wiles of *foreign* influence, I conjure you to believe me, my fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baleful foes of republican government."

Discarding a slothful and penurious policy, he tells you, "That if you would avoid injury, you must be *prepared* to resent it;" and, "That timely disbursements to *meet* danger, frequently *prevent* much greater disbursements to *repel* it."

Knowing that a government resting on popular suffrage, can exist only in the conviction, which the people feel of its justice and its benefits, he enjoins it upon you to "*enlighten*" the public mind; and, by institutions for diffusing knowledge, to dissipate the gloom of simple error, and the seductions of artful imposture.

Legislators of the Union! listen to this advice, before it becomes too late to profit from it.

Had but a small portion of the treasure expended in crushing *insurrection*, been applied to the dissemination of correct *information*, ambitious traitors could never have wrought up ignorance into rebellion; nor profligate calumniators plunged our country into desperate factions.

How mistaken, and how dangerous, is that policy, which suffers four millions of people, jealous of their rights, prejudiced by local interests, and spread over a vast continent, to depend for their knowledge of public measures, upon the scandalous misrepresentations of inflamed partisans, and the daring forgeries of a licentious press!

Taught by revelation, that "piety exalteth a nation;" a witness to the abominations of "illuminated atheism," and the blasting influence, which it sheds over human happiness, he has

left with you his own great example and his last exhortation, as proofs, that he considered national prosperity only secure whilst it rested on the basis of national religion:—"In vain," he says, "can that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who would labor to subvert religion and morality—those great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens."

People of America!

LET the *advice* of your greatest friend sink deep into your bosoms.

LET not hireling presses—noisy and empty declamation—canting and cunning demagogues, cheat you out of your peace, and real liberty.—These depend on the *solidity* of your government; and that, in a generous confidence, and manly support, of those you appoint to administer it.

THINK that you hear him saying,—"This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed; adopted on full investigation and mature deliberation; completely free in its principles; in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy; and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment; has a just claim, to your confidence and support. Respect for its authorities—compliance with its laws—acquiescence in its measures—are duties enjoined, by the fundamental maxims of true liberty.—All obstructions to the execution of the laws—all combinations, and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to control, counteract, or awe, the constituted authorities, are destructive of your constitution, and of fatal tendency."

IN what feeling accents, does he implore you to bury the animosities of party—to destroy the monster, faction—and to discard the spirit of jealousy, which, by an unnatural direction, urges you to distrust authorities of your own creation, and dependent on your own will.

EVERY act of this government, has come from the hands of of your chosen represntatives, equally concerned with you in

the welfare of their common country; and every act from its commencement, has received the official sanction of your WASHINGTON, or, of his no less illustrious successor, ADAMS.

THOSE, who would array your jealousy against the representatives of the union, are alike insolent and cruel.—They dishonor the principles of a republic—and they offer you no substitute better entitled to your adoption and support.

MY countrymen! the example of WASHINGTON, is equally instructive, whether seen in the splendid career of high employments, or in the milder lights of retirement.

HE was not only *content* with, but he sighed for, the simple and unruffled pleasures of private station.—Although engaged in the most honorable and enviable situations—admired, revered and beloved—yet in that last address, which he dedicates to you, he says, "I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that *retreat*, in which I promise myself, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers."

LIKE him, let us be ready to serve the republic when she demands our services; and, like him, think ourselves no less happy as private citizens—while we cherish the government, which guards our independence, and obey the laws, which only can secure to us the blessings of social order.

IT is *thus* that your WASHINGTON will yet live for his country—to guide her councils—animate her warriors—and with his own spirit, refine and warm the patriotism of all her citizens.

AH! how truly glorious is his memory—who, living, raised his country to honor and felicity—and dying, bequeathed his virtues for their preservation.

Oration delivered at Old York, on the death of GEORGE *WASHINGTON; by the Rev.* ROSEWELL MESSINGER, *pastor colleague with the Rev.* LYMAN *of the First Church in Old York, Maine.*

THE sun in the firmament is not darkened! The foundations of the earth do not tremble! Rocks have not fallen to dust! the mountains have not melted away! But the veil of liberty's temple is rent in twain. Her spotless high-priest hath retired to rest, through the portals of everlasting fame.

IF our tongue were an angel's, it would falter; if our hearts were marble, they would bleed; if our eyes were flint they would swell with tears; if the world were a Zembla, it would melt and mourn, for WASHINGTON is no more.

HAPPY for the human race, his translation was not in a chariot of fire; not by a visible convoy of angels; not by the sound of the trump, but by the common, secret power of dissolution, which silently sprinkles its fatal dust on the body of man! Otherwise he might have been revered as a GOD. The globe might have bowed in the attitude of worship at the feet of his likeness.

O TIME! Empires and kingdoms are thy sport. The bewildered traveller of the desert, the prideful monarch of the throne; conquerors who have led the world in chains; philosophers who have scanned the heavens, and walked among the stars; virtue's sacred train; all, all have been numbered among thy trophies; yet the greatest of thy spoils is the late Father of our country. But, O time, his memory will mock thy ravages: it will live in immortal bloom, "when death itself shall die."

IN a country whose climes are mild, whose features are lovely; in America, our "*Hero, patriot, sage,*" was born in 1732, his life dawned on the fields of Virginia. There the sacred genii bathed his infant soul in the lucid stream of thought; there

the enraptured cherubs shed on his heart the ambrosial dews of innocence and love; there the creative power planted the Eden of humanity in his bosom; there said the holy Trinity, "we will raise up a man, and fix upon him our own image, in a stamp, that shall never be effaced. These were secrets only known to the visible world. For to human eyes he was no more than a child of common clay. But a few years began to reveal those gems of excellence that were to enamor a gazing universe.

In the age of childhood, he was manly, frank and noble in his manners; cautious, yet faithful in his attachments; generous in his heart, which knew no disguise; he was attached to the truth, which he never sacrificed; persevering in every laudable atchievement; his perception was quick, his fancy lively and bold; but always obedient to his judgment—his words, though few, were "apples of gold in pictures of silver." Before he reached the years of youth, he possessed an assemblage of all the brilliant virtues, all the lovely sympathies, all the pious sentiments, that lay within the compass of human aspiration. He never trod the formal paths of science, within the walls of a college; but, the fields of nature, books and mankind were all accessible to his exploring genius. Yea, his noble soul drank intelligence from the rivers of God. These are some feeble and scattered delineations of his early life.

It was now time for his glory to rise on the public mind. While we were colonies, subject to Britain, and hostilities obtained between England and France, our hero entered the martial field. As the shade of Braddock will testify, he then announced talents that would have honored the Cæsars of antiquity. He discovered a heart that would have given the laurels of Titus a brighter lustre!

But it was in a later period, that his patriotism and love of liberty burst with their full effulgence on the world. It was in a later period, that the sons and daughters of Columbia leaned on his bosom, and called him "Father."

He longed to see that early destiny of Heaven accomplished, that we should be "a world by ourselves." Though we were separated for this purpose from foreign nations by the waves of the sea, yet the dreary darkness of despotic night reigned on the face of our land. But the spirit of Washington moved upon it. The first rays that betokened the resurrection of liberty, beamed from his luminous soul. Being aided by the Adams and Franklin, he laid the foundation of the temple of our glory.

This steady career of renown soon raised him to the head of the continental armies. Here, how illustrious, how deified, was the display of his abilities and heart! He did not enter the field as the servile minion of a despot; he did not lead a band of Catalines, plunderers and thieves; he did not assume the armor of battle, that he might be able to boast how many thousand garments he had died in blood. But he fought and conquered for the salvation of his country, and the good of the world. He resembled the conduct of the holy God, whose nature is love, and who designeth for the good of his creatures, even when their sins oblige him to chastise them with scorpions.

Loaded with the immaculate laurels of victory, under the grateful alleluia of millions, he retires from the toilsome scene of war. The nation said (for they felt it) he is the saviour of the west. He is the gift of Heaven, fame said, for it was true, he is greater than the greatest of men; his arm is thunder to oppressors; the voice of his feet is an earthquake to tyrants; but his smiles are a heaven to the sons and daughters of liberty.

The war was ended. Britain was humbled. Washington no longer wields the lightning of his power. He repairs, like the gentle shepherd to the shades of Vernon; but not there to rest. By the voice of his country he is called to the presidential chair. If we view him in this important office; he is still on holy ground. His eye is still fastened on the flaming bush to receive counsel. Here his wisdom, his unyielding firmness and expansive patriotism, heightened the affection of his coun-

try. Every day in the cabinet poured lustre on those immortal monuments of his fame, which his own deeds had already constructed. Though time consign to oblivion the actions of the wise and great, yet it will breathe divinity on the life and conduct of our departed Sage.

TEN years of unspotted life in this office had now elapsed. Without any uncommon admonition, he was conscious that sixty five revolving suns must nearly have numbered his days. He asked an exemption from public cares. The enrapturing perspectives of eternity rose before him, yet he had engraven his people on the palms of his hands. He did not forget us. He bid us an affectionate farewell. His address is stamped in letters of gold on the rolls of unfading memory. Stoic eyes beheld him with tears, retiring, as was thought, for the last, to private life, and from thence to the bosom of God. The belligerent powers of Europe, however, soon drew our nation into a state of war. Wisdom dictated the propriety of assuming a posture of defence. The voice of timidity cried "We have no millions to support a standing army; no walls to defend our cities; no fleets to secure our harbors." ADAMS looked on the noble WASHINGTON, and said, "O WASHINGTON! Thy sword is a standing army. Thy name is a wall of fire. Thy glory travels on the face of the deep." He appointed him commander of the Columbian troops. The appointment was accepted. Our country's eye sparkled with joy. The shadow of the sun had gone back on the dial. The hours of his public life were lengthened out. Our sage was ready to shed his venerable blood, that liberty might continue to value our land as a temple meet for her dwelling. But he is now "removed to the armies above." Our harp is turned to mourning, and our organ to the voice of them that weep.

O MY countrymen and fellow-mourners! do you realize your loss? If you did, you would not only discover the common testimonials of grief, but tears of blood would roll from your eyes.

YE who followed him into the field, who aided him in repulsing the cruel arm of foreign aggression, can ye believe that

your beloved general is dead; that his body sleeps beneath the cold clay of the valley? It cannot be forgotten. The cyclops of a despotic court were forging with unblushing insolence, chains for our necks; our land was infested with a plundering soldiery; our shores began to be marked with the bloody footsteps of the British dragon, when WASHINGTON, in the sight of your eyes, delivered his country from slavery, from desolation and death. Did you not then think that he was almost an immortal; and now can you believe he is no more! O painful sentence. I need more than lips of clay to pronounce it. WASHINGTON is dead! The first of men, the paragon of goodness is gone. How like an angel did he appear in youth! In manhood how did the emanations of the DEITY sublime his soul! A rarity in the list of mortals; who could be told by an admiring world, that he was a GOD, yet retained the meekness of a man?

HIS heart was pure and friendly—his head clear, its counsel deep and lucid as the waters of Laplata. His firmness, like the poles of the earth, to be moved by nature's dissolution alone. His patriotism resembled the blaze of divine benevolence, uniformly benignant, universal in expansion, and without diminution. Among all the stars of human glory, the steps of our sage were the milky-way; that path in the heavens always to be distinguished by its superior lustre.

IMPRESSED with this important truth, that GOD was not partial to any particular sect of christians; he beheld them all with an eye of charity. He believed that the elect would be gathered from all ranks and denominations of men.

IF, at any time, great and good men differed from him in political opinion, it excited no animosity. He was ready to say, "I myself also am a man; I am not omniscient; I am not infallible." If the disappointed and envious ever attempted to asperse his character, they were soon compelled to silence; for this was the echo of their madness: "Feeble efforts, pitiful phrenzy. Sooner shall the wing of the transient insect darken the face of day, than envy's pestilent tribe should tarnish the glory of WASHINGTON."

O, ADAMS ! thy grief must pierce the centre of thy heart. More momentous than ever are the cares that devolve upon thee. The prophet with whom thou hast walked hand and hand, is now departed. Receive the mantle of thy brother. If the waters of death threaten to flood our country, divide them asunder—bid them roll on the right and the left, till they are lost in the desert. GOD will make thee Columbia's second Saviour.

OFFICERS and army, of whom the head is gone, every heart-string must thrill with anguish, for the bereavement is sudden and great. What a noble pathos did the name of your general excite in the patriotic bosom ! How did you leap to the defence of your land, religion and liberty, when it was said, "The venerable WASHINGTON leads the van." When ye beheld his ancient standard stamped with these indelible letters, "No party spirit—we fight for ourselves and children ;" ye were all Americans. You spurned from your lips the cup, which contained the hemlock of foreign influence. But alas ! your hero is no more. Captains, officers and soldiers of the artillery in this place, do you hear this ? WASHINGTON is gone to rest ! O, we behold the emblems of sorrow planted on your countenance—your eyes grow big with grief.—Behold how you loved him !

DEPARTED shade ! if it be permitted for spirits to visit these abodes of clay, may it delight thee still to preside over the army, that exulted in the light of thy counsel, and the asylum of thy presence. Pity them. Ah ! they weep to embalm thy memory with tears. If they must ever descend the field, inspire them with an honest indignation against the hostile aggressor ; ennoble them with courage and prudence ; let them be pure and virtuous in the camp, ready to be immolated on the flaming altar of battle, or to live in liberty and triumph.

BOTH houses of congress, your vistation is deeply afflictive, your burden is great, the sense of your loss is poignant. You remember the matchless services he hath rendered to his country ; for the glorious monuments of his martial deeds are before you. You remember him when he shone like the orb of day

in the cabinet. You will not forget the times when dangers and clouds have hovered around your heads; when tempest of dispute hath raged; when parties have met like angry clouds on the mountain, and thundered their vengeance from one to the other; for then the noble WASHINGTON forbade the storm. He stretched the rainbow in the sky of debate, and there was a a calm. He hath taught you how to love your country. He was the archetype of prudence and public excellence. Imitate him as far as your powers will reach. Move with caution in the doubtful paths of opinion. Imbibe the truth. In the centre of light receive it. Reflect it again to cheer and gladden the heart of your fellow-mortals. Contend as much to secure the chastity, as to protract the life of liberty.

JUDGE of this district. Judges and political officers of all ranks; well may each of you say, "O, that my head were waters, that mine eyes were a fountain of tears;" for you mourn the best of friends, and the first of men. He duly appreciated your beneficial influence in the civil and judicial system—your importance with regard to the general good. He knew, that of many members, unequal in dignity, faithful in their appropriate spheres, a perfect body is composed. Be inspired by his example, and you will strengthen the filaments of society; you will be guardians for the rights of individuals, as well as for those of the nation.

MINISTERS of the gospel—A star has fallen from the firmament of the visible church. A great patron and influential advocate in the cause of religion is gone. As instruments in the hand of GOD, to mould the heart, to lead the human race to CHRIST, who opens the portals of eternal day, and bids his children welcome, he loved us. O may we repair to the cypress. Let the altars of JESUS be hung in sackcloth, for the gates of Zion do mourn. Let all the sons and daughters of piety flock to his grave. In the midst of their grief, may they not forget that blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than the life of WASHINGTON.

Ye merchants, who command your vessels to bear away the surplus of our own productions, and exchange them for the fruits of other climes. The honor and importance you sustain in the rank of citizens, the security you afford to our rights and liberties, the renowned name you contribute to give us among the nations of the earth, were all realised by your noble friend and deceased father. While you weep at his urn, listen to the voice of his spirit, which will always exclaim, "O citizens, carry the scale of righteousness in your right hand, the olive of peace in the left, and the love of your country engraven on your hearts.

Ye, who cultivate the fruits of the earth; he smiled as you subdued the shrub and the thorn; he blessed every blade of wheat that grew in their stead. When he beheld you returning from the field with your golden sheaves, he was more pleased than to have seen you loaded with the glittering trophies of war and conquest. He disdained the thought that the sweat of your brow should become the price of the pleasures of the great. He strove to give you a peaceful residence under your own vine and fig-tree. But now he is gone. You will see him no more, only in his actions, till the harvest of the world.

In the immense group of mourners, there is one, whose attitude and whose features announce a deeper sorrow than all the rest. It is thou, Lady Washington. The voice of thy grief is echoed back by a pensive sympathetic world: "My hero George is gone! My hero George is gone!" Who among the queens of the earth have been blessed like thee? Permit the waiting angel to wipe away thy tears. Let thy sighs bear to the heavens an incense of gratitude; for if we may measure the length of life by enjoyment, and if enjoyment arise from the goodness of a consort, thou hast lived forever.

Of all ranks and ages, he was the guardian and the friend. Though they said he was a God, he died as a man: let us not murmur, but rather wonder, that his great and immortal soul, should be contented to reside in a human form so long.

SHOULD Gothic darkness envelope the globe; should the stars of light rush together and dissolve, the tomb of Washington will stand defended by a visible glory. Pillars of fire will hover around it, when every monument of art shall be demolished. Angels will innocently envy the renown of him who loved and saved his country; who was commissioned to do the divine pleasure among the inhabitants of the earth; and who is now ordained to set at the head of all the spirits of just men made perfect, in the realms of eternal joy.

Oration upon the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *delivered in the state-house at Trenton. By the rev.* SAMUEL STANHOPE SMITH, *D. D. president of the college of New-Jersey.*

GREAT GOD! we adore thy sovereign providence, which hath smitten the father of his country, and left a nation in tears.

MY fellow-citizens! your griefs are manly—they are approved of heaven—you mourn a father. All America mingles her sighs with yours—foreign nations, admiring his achievements and his virtues, will think that liberty has lost a protector among them—and even that great people from whom he wrested our freedom and independence, forgetting that they have lost an empire by his wisdom and valor, will honor him with their griefs and their praises.

HIS country is erecting monuments and statues to his memory. Brass and marble shall express his glory——But brass and marble will decay, and the glory that is committed to them alone will perish. Eloquence and history shall rear to him more durable trophies. Historians shall immortalize their page with the name of Washington; and future orators shall quote it with the names of Epaminondas, of Aristides and of Cato,

to illuminate their discourse, and to enforce, by great examples, the virtues of a disinterested and heroic patriotism. But his most lasting, and most noble monument shall be the affections of his countrymen, who will transmit their admiration of him as an increasing inheritance to their latest posterity. To testify the esteem, and to announce to the world, the profound regrets of a grateful country, poets and orators, and the ministers of religion, have come forth to pronounce and re-echo his praises throughout all America. How sublime, and how singular the glory ! Thus to receive the voluntary homage of a free and a great people—the homage of equals paid, not to pre-eminence of rank, but of virtue—not extorted by the command of power, but the unconstrained effusion of the heart ! I also, at your invitation, appear among them, with a zeal disproportioned tomy strength, to pay my feeble tribute to the memory of a man, deservedly so dear to every worthy and honest American. —But ah ! I feel, in the beginning, that my words are unable to reach the conceptions of my own mind, and that they must fall far below the ideas and emotions which already occupy yours. One advantage, indeed, I may derive from hence, the only one that inability can yield, which is, that when I have bestowed on this illustrious citizen the highest praises, I shall have the testimony of your hearts, that I have said even less than the truth—flattery I shall have no need to have recourse to the base arts of to praise the most modest of men, who spurned from him, while living, all insincerity and adulation——Oh ! if the occasion, and the presence of this numerous and enlightened assembly, could light up within me a spark of that eloquence which they are so well fitted to enkindle, and could raise above itself a genius so far inferior to the subject, and the demands of public expectation, with what noble ideas should I fill your minds ! What a warm impression would the recital of achievements, and the display of talents and virtues like his, make upon your hearts ! Certainly no hero, modern, or ancient, has ever offered to the orator a more illustrious or fertile subject of that eloquence that is calculated to touch the heart, or to raise men to the heights of virtue by great examples.

In whom have ever shone with more splendor the talents of war, in creating an army; in successfully maintaining himself in the face of a superior enemy; in inspiring with courage raw troops; in attaching soldiers to order and their country in the midst of extreme hardships, and the injustice of their country itself; in seizing victories by an enterprising bravery, when enterprise was safe for the republic, or in conducting retreats that gained him no less glory than victories; in vanquishing his enemies by a firm undaunted courage, or consuming and wasting them away by a wise and noble patience? Where can we find a conqueror so humble, so disinterested, so devoted solely to his country—so serene, so sublime in adversity—so modest in the midst of triumphs—in dangers so intrepid and calm—and possessing such control over events by his prudence and perseverance?

Other nations begin their eulogies of great men, by tracing their birth to some royal house, or some noble family.—— This is the praise of slaves. Virtue, talents, services, are our nobility. What glory could he have derived from a noble parentage, whose virtues would have added their chief splendor to thrones? Such adventitious and accidental distinctions might have lessened, but could not have augmented, that high and solid fame which he now possesses. The name of Washington is surrounded with a lustre that eclipses that of kings: And not his smallest praise is, that it is all his own—it is derived from the intrinsic worth and merit of the man—not a ray of it is borrowed—his father was a plain but virtuous citizen.

Socrates believed that he was attended by a genius which often gave him counsel and instruction, and watched over his safety—The genius of Brutus abandoned him at the plains of Philippi; but the guardian genius of our hero, which never forsook him, was that divine providence, which he always devoutly acknowledged, and which seemed to preside over him with a peculiar predilection from his birth, giving his mind that happy impulse and direction, and combining those fortunate coincidences of events, which we have seen leading to success and fame in all the important scenes of his life.

His first education was directed only to solid and useful attainments. Mathematical science, which contributes, perhaps, more than any other to strengthen the mind, and which is so intimately connected with the military art, was the earliest, and his favorite study. His exercises were manly and vigorous; his constitution was active and strong; his port noble and commanding; his person graceful and majestic; his countenance expressive of that benignity, that honor, that grandeur of sentiment, that profound reflection, for which he was distinguished. But these are vulgar praises. He had a mind capable of combining all the interests of his country; a discernment capable of penetrating and defeating all the designs of its enemies, a heart capable of daring every danger in its defence.

His dawn of life gave some auspicious presages of the splendor of its meridian. Scarcely had he attained his twentieth year, when he was employed by the government of Virginia, his native state, in an enterprise as hazardous, as it was honorable, which required all the prudence of age united with the vigor and fire of youth. The armies of France threatened to environ these states, then colonies of Great-Britain, and to enclose them in a chain of fortifications, from the Lakes to New-Orleans; and they were artfully attaching to their own interests, and exciting against us, the fury of the savage nations. Young Washington was charged to remonstrate with their commander, to penetrate their designs, to estimate their force, to observe their works, and to conciliate, if possible, the affections of the native tribes. In the discharge of this trust, you see him, at an inclement season of the year, traverse the immense forest alone. Amidst incessant rains and snows, and over vast rivers, rendered almost impassible by ice, and surrounded with lurking parties of hostile savages, he pursues his course. When his horses are exhausted, he continues on foot his dangerous and difficult route; he observes every thing with the eye of a warrior; he marks out cites for fortresses; he measures the fortresses of the enemy; he displays a firmness of mind in the greatest dangers, a patience of fatigue in the greatest difficulties, and a consummate address in the conduct

of the whole, that would have been worthy the reputation of the oldest commanders ; and finally, executes an arduous commission in a manner that deserved and obtained universal applause. At an age when other youth are pursuing only pleasures, and softening their minds and bodies by indulgence, he is already hardening himself for the toils and dangers of war—he is practically studying mankind—and applying the science of Euclid and Vauban, to the defence of his country.

The war, which then menaced these infant settlements, soon began to rage. The brave but impetuous Braddock was commissioned to defend, in America, the honor, and the interests, of Britain. In all the pride of European discipline, and British valor, he despised an enemy who fought by stealth, and scorned the admonitions of Washington, who was only a youth, but who was a warrior by intuition, and who perceived, in a moment, every change which that formidable art ought to assume from new circumstances. Surrounded in the forest by an enemy invisible, but dreadful, his ranks cut down by a hidden fire, his principal officers slain, and himself mortally wounded, amidst carnage and death, where valor was useless, and discipline only offered surer marks to the destructive aim of the foe ; terror and despair overwhelmed every heart. Then our hero, all calm and intrepid, and now left to pursue his own ideas, was seen on the spot, to change the whole order of battle. With his brave Virginians, he protected the astonished battalions of Britain, covered them under the buckler of America, and in the name of his country, saved those armies, whom in her defence, he was one day to conquer. They shouted him their deliverer ; and the shores of Europe and America re-echoed the applauses of the camp.

But it was when America called him to the head of her armies, in the long and bloody war which she was obliged to maintain, in defence of her rights, and her existence, against that nanion, become haughty and unjust, that he displayed the full extent, and variety, of his genius. Britain had cherished her colonies in the new world, merely as instruments of commerce, till their growing prosperity rendered them at length an ob-

ject, both of avarice and of ambition. Flushed with her triumphs, under the auspices of the great Chatham, and rejecting, after profiting by, the counsels of that sublime statesman, she had already, in imagination, swallowed our treasures—divided our provinces among her princes—our cities and fields among her nobles—and destined our husbandmen to be tenants and laborers for her. America, roused to defend rights that were dearer to her than her existence, but unprepared to meet an attack which she had not expected from a parent nation, had nothing to oppose to this formidable invasion, but her unconquerable love of liberty, her virtue and Washington.

How unequal was the conflict between a young country, in the very infancy of her improvements—possessing, as yet, only a few husbandmen scattered over an unwieldly territory—nursed in habits of veneration and obedience to her invader—without an organized government to conduct the necessary operations of her defence—destitute of clothing, of ammunition, and almost of arms, for her few soldiers—and rendered still more impotent by an injudicious system of finance bottomed upon no funds—and, on the other hand, a mighty nation in the midst of her glory—grown old in victories—whose numerous and veteran armies had just humbled the first power in Europe—whose fleets covered and ruled the ocean—and who commanded, by her commerce, half the wealth of the world! If we counted only the resources of America, and the number of her troops, would we not pronounce that she was already vanquished? But the talents of her leader were in the room of armies, and of treasures; and his success undeniably ranks him among the greatest generals in the universe. He had to compensate, by address, the defect of energy in the government—to make personal influence supply the want of money, and of almost every necessary for a camp—to manage with skill the caprices of liberty itself, which are so often ruinous to its own interests—to conciliate to the service, men irritated by disappointment, and the injustice, though, perhaps, the necessary injustice, of their country—and to raise the courage of those who were already subdued by want. You see him, at one time, patiently preparing the train of events for some great effect—at another, anticipating them by a bold and deci-

sive stroke. Sometimes he stoops upon victory like an eagle, and sometimes he renders it sure by a prudent delay. He always rises from defeat like a conqueror, and, in the end, obliges the enemy to abandon the post which they had seized.——In all changes of fortune, he is serene, collected and sublime. Success cannot elate him. No reverse can sink his courage, or shake his firmnes. And you behold him with equal admiration, when compelled to retire, with the broken remains of his army, across the Jersies, as when he entered in triumph over the demolished fortifications of York, and, by one splendid action, put a period to the war.

The details of his exploits I leave to the historian. They will instruct the remotest ages. They are still recent in your memory. The children of America repeat them with enthusiasm. His first act was to expel the enemy from Boston, and to restore to the nation that important capital. Afterwards, when in the face of a thousand ships, and an immense army, he was obliged to retire before superior numbers from the open and defenceless city of New-York, if, for a moment, ignorance and impatience impeached his courage, or his skill, the returning reflection of his fellow-citizens approved his prudence, and applauded his firmness. Conscious of doing what a patriotic general ought to do, he felt all the humiliation of unfounded censure; but he was willing to bear the folly, and the injustice of his countrymen, for the salvation of his country. He was not among those frantic heroes, who, to gain the vain reputation of a thoughtless bravery, will hazard the safety of their country itself. Though he loved glory, the interests of America were dearer to him than his own fame. Her circumstances, at that moment, imperiously forbade him to risk the existence of his small army. His lofty soul was incapable of fear: he even seemed to acquire new energies at the approach of danger; but a cool and comprehensive wisdom tempered the ardent impulses of his courage; and he now resolved, like a great general, to expose nothing to hazard which he could defend by prudence, and not to force fortune where he was sure of gaining her by a wise delay. He retired before the enemy, always commanding their respect by his well chosen positions, till, having gained the farther

shore of the Delaware, he there arrested their progress, and there triumphantly turned the tide of the war. The place on which I stand is consecrated by his triumphs—your streets have flowed with hostile blood—here victory first returned to his standard, which, for a moment, she had abandoned. Trenton! and Princeton! names rendered dear to your country by exploits that will be forever combined with them in history, on your plains hope was first rekindled in the bosom of America.

Despondency had begun to seize the public mind. It was necessary to restore its vigor by some brilliant action; and Washington, who, at one time, so prudently retired from danger, was now determined to put all to hazard—he had been willing to survive misfortune only to retrieve it—he was now prepared to die, or resolved to conquer.——I see him, in the depth of winter, with an army, scarcely half clothed, and small in number, his mind laboring with some vast, and almost desperate purpose, struggling with the ice, and with the torrent, forcing his way across the Delaware. Supported by a few militia, brave but undisciplined, his circumstances were infinitely critical. An impassable river was now behind him, a superior enemy in front, separated from him only by a small ravine. The evening closed under a tremendous cannonade. Both armies, lighting their fires, and setting their guards, were waiting, in anxious suspense, the approach of the morning. The fate of America seemed to be staked on the event of one great and decisive battle. Then the military talents of the American hero shone forth with new splendor, and revived, and fixed, the wavering confidence of his country. By one of those happy strokes of genius that distinguish only great generals, he broke all the plans of his foes, and rolled the waves of misfortune back upon themselves. In the night he passed unperceived the army in his front, attacked an important post in their rear, carried it sword in hand, and awakened them to a sense of all their danger, and their shame, by the sound of victory from Princeton.—Princeton! thy fields rendered sacred by the blood of Mercer, and illustrious by the actions of Washington, shall be

forever connected in history with his glory—thy sons shall hereafter vie with one another in eloquence and song, to celebrate his fame, and pointing to the spot where Washington triumphed, shall perceive their genius kindled with new fires, and from him derive, while they confer, immortality.

The plan of the general was to hasten to Brunswick, and seize the enemy's arsenal, stores, and military chests, deposited there; but his troops, harrassed and exhausted with incessant labors, marches and conflicts, were unable to accomplish the grandeur of his views. The British commander, in the utmost consternation, flew to their protection. The American, with a wisdom worthy the celebrated dictator who saved Rome, immediately occupied the hills that overlooked the strong position of the enemy, on the summits of which he hung like some dark and terrible cloud impregnated with thunder, and continually threatening to burst upon them.* He straitens their quarters—he drives in their posts—he cuts off their parties—he reanimates the courage of the militia of New-Jersey; and, by practising them in daily combats, renders them at length, under the conduct of a few gallant officers, worthy to fight by the side of veterans—he expels the enemy from a state which they had so cruelly ravaged.

By the aid of their navy, they were enabled rapidly to transport themselves to the greatest distances; and the American general was obliged to be ready to meet them at every point. He met them on the Brandywine, where the timidity, or the treachery of the men employed to bring him intelligence of their movements, defeated one of the wisest and most brilliant plans of the war, which would probably have put in his possession their artillery, their baggage, and their whole camp.† But

* *The image which Hannibal applied to Fabius.*

† *The intention of the general was, to permit the enemy to cross the Brandywine above him, and, while they imagined they were taking him in flank, to push forward his main body, and surprise their camp on the other side of the river, which would*

Heaven had resolved to protract their fate; and they entered the capital of Pennsylvania.

While encamped at the Valley forge under every disadvantage to which a commander could be subject, and suffering the most cruel neglect, not to say injustice of his country, he surprised a division of their army on the heights of Germantown, and in the moment that victory was declaring for his arms, and their routed legions were fleeing in every direction, a voice, a whisper, one of those invisible and unaccountable accidents which so frequently decide the fate of battles, wrested the prize out of his hands. But his unconquerable energy, his infinite resources in misfortune, robbed them of all the fruits of their success. They dared no longer venture out of their entrenchments, and he held them enchained in Philadelphia.

The generals of Britain, contending in vain against the indefatigable courage, and the inexhaustible resources of the American hero, who, though at the head of a feeble and ill-appointed army, was often victorious, and who reaped even from defeat the fruits of victory, resolved to abandon to him Pennsylvania, as they had before yielded New-Jersey.

Then you saw him on the burning plains of Monmouth, rallying his broken van, and leading it on to a new charge; exposing himself like a common soldier, present in every place almost at the same moment; and while men were fainting, and dying in their ranks with fatigue, and heat, and thirst, refusing to rest, or to taste refreshment till victory gave him a right to repose.

have cut off their retreat, and been probably followed by their total ruin. His runners, whether intimidated, or corrupted, persisted to assure him, in the most solemn manner, that the British forces had not crossed in the places where he certainly expected them, and deceived him with regard to their real movements, till it was too late to execute his design. He was compelled to retreat. And a few days afterwards, when he offered them battle again in the Great-Valley the elements fought against him.

With pleasure I see in this assembly your EXCELLENCY,* and so many other brave officers, who were there witnesses of his glory, and who bore no small share in the dangers, and the honors of that memorable day.

THE twenty-ninth June gave rest to the northern states; and Britain, despairing to be able to contend with Washington, determined to bend all her force against the south. But there she met the wise and gallant Greene, who was worthy to be the brother of Washington. Greene was cutting off her garrisons, and her armies in detail. But her main army, under the conduct of the bravest and most enterprising of her generals, was still reserved to adorn the triumphs of the first hero of America.

HISTORIANS will relate with what admirable combination he formed the plan, and concerted its execution, with an ally separated from him by more than a thousand leagues, for surprising and entangling in his toils his active foe—with what address he diverted the attention of the British commanders—and how, after a march of four hundred miles, he had so amused and blinded them, that he still found his enemy in the place where he determined to seize him.——America will forever record that happy day in which her victorious chief saw Britain laying her last standards at his feet. I seem to participate with him that generous exultation, that noble triumph of soul, which, in this moment, he felt. Not that he was capable, with unmanly insolence, of exulting over a prostrate enemy, but he saw, in their fall, the salvation of his country. On the ruins of York he laid the immortal base of the republic. How delicious! How sublime was the moment! Britain was humbled*—America was delivered and avenged.

* *Governor* HOWELL, *who followed the bier as chief mourner.*

† *Such expressions as this cannot reasonbly be supposed to be intended to cherish national prejudices, or to inflame national antipathies. They are used by the writers of every country in celebrating their eminent statesmen, and their heroes. They*

THE war terminated, PEACE restored, and the liberties of a new world established on the firmest foundations, the concluding scene was the most august and interesting that the history of nations has, perhaps, ever presented.——Other conquerors have considered victory as the mean of grasping unlawful power.—The soul of Washington was more sublime.—He regarded in his victories only the peace and happiness of a great nation. A fine morality tempered and reigned in the midst of his heroic qualities. The character of a patriot, he considered as superior to that of a hero; and to be a renowned warrior was less in his esteem, than to be a good man. He hastens, therefore, to the seat of congress, to resign into the hands of the fathers of his country, the powers with which they had invested him, and which he had so nobly employed in its defence.—August spectacle! Illustrious chief! He was so far elevated above the rest of mankind, that no way was left for him to become greater but by humbling himself. The hero enters the hall surrounded with all his virtues, his services, and his glories, of which no one but himself seemed to be unconscious. This awful assembly received him as the founder, and the guardian, of the republic. Every heart was big with emotion. Silently they retraced the scenes of affliction and danger through which they had passed together—They recalled to mind the peace and freedom purchased by his arm—They regarded with veneration that great man, who appeared more great and worthy of esteem in resigning, than he had done in gloriously using, his power. In an impressive speech he laid down all his public employments, and took of them an affectionate leave. At the contemplation of such rare virtue, and moved at the recollection of so many interesting scenes, tears of admiration and gratitude burst from every eye. The hero, touched with the general emotion, wet his cheek with a manly tear, while he deposited his sword under the laws, which he had covered with his shield.

indicate sensations that were natural and lawful on the occasion, but are afterwards forgotten in the relations of amity, and commercial intercourse.

The last act of a spectacle so affecting was an act of religion. Great example for legislators, rulers, warriors—for all who either possess elevated stations, or who aim at high and solid fame! In that august presence, he worships the Ruler of the Universe—he commends the interests of his dearest country to the protection of Almighty God—and there, in the temple of the laws, he offers to heaven the incense of a nation, from the altar of his own pure and noble heart.——This done, he retires, amidst the vows, and prayers, and blessings, of a grateful and admiring country, to the peaceful shade of Vernon. Not like those heroes who build their glory on the misery of the human race, and whose restless souls are forever tossed in the tempests of ambition, he sought only peace by war, and returned from its cruel and bloody fields with delight, to the first innocent employments of human nature.

Let us contemplate him, a moment, in this RETIREMENT, which he always chose with such predilection when the service of his country would permit him to enjoy it.

In private life he was as amiable, as virtuous, and as great, as he appeared sublime on the public theatre of the world. How many conquerors, renowned in history, have been great only while they acted a conspicuous part under the observation of mankind! The soul, in such a situation, perceives an artificial elevation—it assumes the sentiments of virtue corresponding to the grandeur of the objects that surround it. In private, it subsides into itself; and, in the ordinary details of life and conduct, the men, who seemed to be raised above others by the splendor of some rare occasions, now sink below them—they are degraded by their passions—those who were able to command armies, have lost the power of self-command—and when they are not *heroes*, they are nothing. Washington, was always equal to *himself*. There was a dignity in the manner in which he performed the smallest things. A majesty surrounded him that seemed to humble those who approached him, at the same time that there was a benignity in his man-

ners that invited their confidence and esteem, His virtues, always elevated and splendid, shone only with a milder light by being placed in the vale of retirement. He was sincere, modest, upright, humane; a friend of religion; the idol of his neighbors as well as of his country; magnificent in his hospitality, but plain in his manners, and simple in his equipage. And the motives of these virtues we are not to seek in a vain affectation of popularity which has often enabled the cunning and the artful to make great sacrifices to public opinion, but in the native impulse and goodness of his heart.—His emotions, naturally strong, and ardent, as they are, perhaps, in all great men, he had completely subjected to the controul of reason, and placed under the guard of such a vigilant prudence, that he never suffered himself to be surprised by them. Philosophy and religion in his breast had obtained a noble triumph: and his first title to command over others, was his perfect command of himself. Such a sublime idea had he formed of man, that in him you never detected any of the littlenesses of the passions. His consummate prudence, which was one of his most characteristic qualities, and which never forsook him for a moment, contributed to fix the affections and the confidence of his fellow-citizens, which he had acquired by his talents.—Eminently distinguished for his conjugal and domestic virtues, the perfect purity of his private morals added not a little to that dignity of character in which he was superior to all men. There is a majesty in virtue, which commands the respect, even of those who do not love it, and which gives to great talents their highest lustre.—Ah! if the ambitious knew, or were willing to estimate its influence on reputation, and its powerful command over the minds of men, they would study to be virtuous from self-interest.

Need I tell you, who know the terms on which he performed the greatest services that were ever rendered to a nation, how disinterested and noble was his nature? How dear would not a mercenary man have sold *his* toils, *his* dangers, and above all, *his* successes? What schemes of grandeur, and of power, would not an ambitious man have built upon the affections of the people and the army? The only wealth which he sought to draw from them, was the riches of his country—

the only reward, the love of his fellow-citizens, and the consciousness of his own heart.

His whole character was consistent. Equally industrious with his plough as with his sword, he esteemed idleness and inutility the greatest disgrace of man, whose powers attain perfection only by constant and vigorous action, and who is placed by providence in so many social relations, only to do good.—— Every thing round him was marked with a dignified simplicity. While so many affect fastidiously to *display* their wealth in sumptuous edifices, and splendid equipages, and incur infinitely more expense to be envied and hated, than would be sufficient to make themselves adored, his mansion was as modest as his heart. Strangers from all nations, who visited it, went, not to to admire a magnificent pile, but to gratify a noble curiosity in seeing the first man in the world. Palaces, and columns, and porticos, would have shrunk beside him, and scarcely have been seen. Like the imperial palace of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, the plain and modest walls resembled some august temple, which has no ornament but the Diety that inhabits it.* You approached it with reference as the retreat of a HERO, the venerable abode of all the VIRTUES. He had no need to seek a false glory by any exterior display of magnificence, who possessed such intrinsic worth and grandeur of soul. Every where he goes without any attendants but his virtues—he travels without pomp ; but every one surrounds him, in imagination, with his victories, his triumphs, his glorious toils, his public services. How sublime is this simplicity ! How superior to all the fastuous magnificence of luxury ! Thus he lived, discharging, without ostentation, all the civil, social, and domestic, offices of life —temperate in his desires—faithful to his duties—retiring from fame, which every where pursued him—living like a beneficent deity in the bosom of his family, its delight, and its glory.

Amiable woman ! sole partner of his dearest pleasures, who enjoyed most intimately, and who best knew, his worth, your

* *A speech put by Mr. Thomas into the mouth of Apollonius a philosopher, and the friend of Marcus.*

overwhelming griefs, the desolation of your heart, under this stroke, testify the preciousness of what you have lost. In the full tide of happiness, in a moment, in one terrible instant, more than empires has been ravished from your embrace. Oh! if a nation's tears can yield you any consolation, the tears of a nation are mingled with yours. But, alas! while they console, they remind you, by a new proof, of the value of what heaven has taken—has taken, perhaps in mercy, that, when your Savior shall call also for you, earth may not have a rival to him in your heart.

But, my fellow-citizens, among the noblest ornaments of this extraordinary man, was his humility and his respect for religion. Humility was the veil thro' which his virtues shone with a more amiable, because less dazzling, lustre. Never, in conversation, did you hear him mention those illustrious achievements, which had rendered his name so famous throughout the world. In reading his official letters, in which he is obliged by his duty to announce his successes, you would hardly suppose that any part of them was to be ascribed to his valor, or his skill. You are even in doubt if fame herself has not mistaken in attributing to him such great actions.*

What a spirit of piety, what a constant acknowledgement of the agency and goodness of divine providence, breathes through all his public addresses to his army, to his fellow-citizens, to congress!—Ah! how difficult is it to receive the applause of nations with humility! to be exalted almost to heaven on the voice of fame, and not to feel that elation of mind, which raises a mortal above the lowly place which every creature ought to hold in the presence of Almighty God! Something there is in the command of armies, where one man wields the force of thousands, in the tumult of battles, in the splendor of triumphs, that is apt to intoxicate the heart, and to elevate it beyond itself. But this great general, after his victories, was always found modest and humble before the throne of the eternal. Like Moses, in the presence of God, he alone seemed not to be

* *This was said also of the Marshal Turenne.*

conscious of the splendor that surrounded himself.* The same veneration for religion, and the same profound respect for its institutions, marked all his private deportment: And we have seen with what a serene and steady lustre his hopes from it shone in the concluding scene of life.

THE talents of this great citizen we have now to exhibit in a new light—as a LEGISLATOR—and the CIVIL CHIEF of the American confederacy.—If it affords a subject less brilliant to the orator than his military career, it is not less instructive to mankind.

SCARCELY had he begun to enjoy his beloved repose when the imbecility of that system, under which the states had originally confederated, discovered itself by so many pernicious consequences, destructive of national honor and prosperity, and dangerous to national existence, that it became necessary to frame a government invested with greater energy, more justly balanced, and able to act more directly upon all parts of the Union. This necessity his penetrating judgment had long foreseen, while he was yet commander of the army, and the wisdom of giving a new form to the confederacy he had frequently urged. America, always enlightened, and wise even in the midst of her errors, resolved, at length, to pursue this sage policy: And Washington, whose prowess in the field had so conspicuously contributed to establish her liberty, was the first among that band of patriots who met to render it secure by placing it under the protection of the most admirable laws. Here he displayed the talents of a great legislator, and proved himself to be as wise in council, as he had been glorious in arms. The excellence of that constitution which was the illustrious fruit of their labors, and which republican France, in repeated efforts, has, hitherto, vainly attempted to imitate, has now been confirmed by the happy experience of ten years. Public credit has been restored—industry has received a new spring—commercial enterprize is ex-

* *Ab. Flech. orais. funeb. Mar. Tur.*

tended to every spot upon the globe—agriculture flourishes—towns and cities are daily founded, extended, and beautified—population and riches increase—and even the debts of the revolutionary war are converted into a species of wealth.

But, antecedently to that experience which now justifies its wisdom, the name of Washington was necessary to give it authority, and to recommend it to the confidence of the American people. By their unanimous voice, throughout a region of fifteen hundred miles in extent, he was called to hold the first magistracy in the confederated republic.—Merciful God! what a felicity to my country, that this revered and beloved citizen was yet preserved to assume, with his firm and resolute hand, the helm of government in such a perilous and doubtful season! Inestimable patriot! who wast willing to put to risk a reputation which it was believed, already above all addition, could only be diminished by any change. Ah! thy fellow-citizens were ignorant of the full extent of those talents which they have since beheld, with astonishment, as great in peace, as in war, in deliberation, as in execution—One of the noblest acts, in a life full of illustrious actions, was the resolution to stake his unexampled fame, and to employ the whole force of his unbounded popularity, to rescue his country from the degraded and imbecile state into which it had fallen under the old system, and to give an operation, and efficiency, that would overcome all opposition, to a government which he regarded as essentially connected with its prosperity and glory.

On this high and untried office he entered with that modesty which is one criterion of great minds, and which marked his whole character through life—he executed it with that unshaken firmness which is the result of conscious rectitude, of ripe and wise deliberation, and of the imperious sentiment of duty in a virtuous heart. Less splendor and eclat, indeed, attend the retired labors of the cabinet, than the march of armies, the capture of towns, and the triumph of victories; but often they require talents of a superior kind, and often possess an influence more extensive on the felicity of nations.

Under his administration, the United States enjoyed prosperity and happiness at home, and, by the energy of the government, regained, in the old world, that importance and reputation which, by its weakness, they had lost.—Arduous was his task—innumerable were the difficulties he had to encounter, from the passions, the conflicting interests, the ambition, and the disappointment of men. His own virtue, and the confidence of the nation, supported him. And, amidst all the clamours which the violence of faction, or individual chagrin, have raised against the general administration, none have ever dared to impeach the purity of his patriotism, or his incorruptible integrity.

His retreat at Mount-Vernon, grown so dear to him by inclination, by habit, and by that love of repose natural to advancing years, he had forsaken only to serve the republic, and to give, to a new and untried government, a firm tone, and a steady operation. At the expiration of the first period of his magistracy, therefore, he was desirous of returning to that private life which was dearer to him than all things else, except America. Ambition had no charms for him. His felicity was to see his country happy; and his modesty led him to hope that her happiness might now be equally secure in other hands. All true Americans, at this moment, resisted his inclinations with the most affectionate importunity; and he was persuaded to resume the arduous cares of the state.

The crisis was important. An universal war raged in Europe, and was carried on with the most rancorous and exterminating passions. The hostile nations, inflamed against each other with a fury beyond all former example, for they fought for their existence, would scarcely endure a neutral. America was, every moment, threatened, by force, or by intrigue, to be drawn into the vortex. Strong parties in her own bosom rendered the danger more imminent; and it required a government firm, temperate, but inflexible, to prevent the evil. This great and heroic magistrate, charged with all her foreign relations, was not to be moved from her true interests. His object was America. And her interest, in the midst of this terrible con-

flict of nations, was to remain in peace. Faction at home, and intrigue and menace from abroad, endeavor to shake him—in vain—he remains serene and immovable in the storm that surrounds him. Foreign intrigue he defeats—foreign insolence he represses—domestic faction, dashing against him, breaks itself to pieces. He meets the injustice, indeed, both of Britain and of France, by negociation, rather than by a precipitate declaration of war; but maintains towards them that firm and commanding attitude which becomes the head of a free and great republic. He obliges them to respect him; and preserves the tranquility of his country. As an American, he knows no nation but as friends in peace, in war as enemies. Towards one he forgets ancient animosities when it is useless to remember them. Towards another he renounces a chimerical gratitude when it is claimed only to involve us in fruitless calamities; perhaps, to put into their hands a dangerous empire over our own, and over other nations.

And now, my countrymen, behold, in the prosperity that surrounds you, the happy effects of this wise policy. See the desolated regions of Europe—compare their endless revolutions, their ferocious tyrannies, their murders, their massacres, their brutal violations of virgin honor, and conjugal fidelity, their wasted plains, their plundered cities, with our peaceful and flourishing state; and bless the memory of Washington, to whose prudence and magnanimity, shall I not say in spite of yourselves? you owe it. Had not his firm patriotism, and his sage councils prevailed, what might not have been our present condition? I tremble to imagine it. We might, by the audacity of foreigners, have been stripped of the power of self-government—we might have looked only on pillaged towns, and a desolate shore—we might have seen the sacred asylum of our families polluted with lust and murder—we might have been the prey of civil discord—we might, like the wretched inhabitants of Saint-Domingo, have been the dreadful victims of domestic treason.——Unhappy the nation who permits a more powerful foreigner to obtain an ascendant in her councils!

Let me not forget that, amidst his cares for our foreign relations, he chastised and repressed the inroads of the savage tribes upon our frontiers, by the arms of the gallant Wayne. And, when rebellion dared to raise an impious front against the laws, he infused new energy into the government, by the promptitude and decision with which he crushed it.

To recapitulate, in one word, the events of an administration as wise as it has been successful—public credit has been restored—public peace has been preserved, notwithstanding the most powerful efforts to disturb it—domestic faction has been kept under control—foreign intrigue and insolence have been defeated and repressed—foreign nations have been compelled to respect the republic—its power has been encreased—its resources have been multiplied—a savage war has been terminated—rebellion has been punished—the laws have been strengthened—and energy and stability have been infused into the government.

With this wise statesman it was an invariable principle of policy, that we can never be secure against the injustice of foreign nations while we do not possess the power of commanding respect, and punishing aggression. Weak intreaties, pusillanimous concessions, only invite indignities: For, unfortunately, power is right in the morality of republics as well as of kings. The defence of our commerce, therefore, the fortification of our ports, and the effectual organization of our military force, were objects towards which he ever directed a solicitous attention.

Behold, then, this illustrious man, no less sublime as a statesman, than as a warrior! His character is a constellation of all the greatest qualities that dignify or adorn human nature. The virtues and the talents which, in other instances, are divided among many, are combined in him.

Having rendered such invaluable services to the state, and accomplished every object for which he had re-entered into public life, his desire to return to privacy and retirement could no longer be resisted. A second time he gave the world the great

and rare example of voluntarily descending from the first station in the universe, the head of a free people, placed there by their unanimous suffrage, and continued there with a zeal only not idolatrous, to the rank of a plain and simple citizen, obedient to those laws which ambition would have placed its glory in controlling. The pride of reigning he despised. Its labors he endured only for his country. And, when he could, he cast it from him as a bauble to which his soul was superior.

On Mount-Vernon he enjoyed his family and his virtue; but still prepared to sacrifice all his dearest predilections whenever his beloved country should demand his aid. Unfortunately, it was too soon required. The injustice of a foreign nation had compelled her to arm; and he was coming forth to defend her under the shade of those laurels which he had gathered in her service.——But the ruler of the Universe, the God of armies, had otherwise determined.—Ah! in what an eventful crisis of the world—in what a dubious and alarming moment for America, hath she lost her hero!—Great God! thy councils are inscrutable!

He died as he had lived, with that serenity of mind, and that composed fortitude, which had ever distinguished his character. Death has no terrors to a pure soul which already derives its supreme pleasures from virtue. There are ardent and impetuous spirits who can affront death in the field, who are not able to regard it with a calm and steady eye in the thoughtful scenes of retirement, and under the pressure of disease. The fire and tumult of battle transport them beyond themselves—honor impels them—and the observation of thousands imparts to the mind an artificial force. But, in the silent chamber, where no foreign impulse supports the heart, and it is not sustained by a consoling retrospect on life, they often shrink from the idea of dissolution, and of the destinies of eternity; and those who seemed to be more than men in the terrible hour of conflict, have been seen to be less than men upon the bed of death. Our hero was the same in that moment as in all the past—magnanimous, firm, confiding in the mercy, resigned to the will, of heaven. Ah! with what beauty does religion shine in the con-

cluding scene of such a life! How precious the hope of immortality in such a moment!——Rising on his own faith, and on the prayers of millions, to the throne of the eternal, he receives in heaven the reward of those illustrious services to his country, and to human nature, which could never be paid him upon earth.*

Such in peace and in war, in private and in public life, was that illustrious man whom all America this day mourns, whom foreign nations lament, and whom the most distant time shall crown with continually new praises. If I have not been able to rise to the dignity of my subject, I have, at least, endeavored to discharge the office of a good citizen, in paying my homage to the departed father of his country. Other orators will rise to do him justice—history will preserve the remembrance of his great qualities to the remotest ages—his memory will forever be his highest eulogy.

The praise that is now paid to such distinguished merit can no longer be suspected of adulation. The universal impulse of the nation dictates it—the first magistrate of America, the friend of Washington, in a stile worthy himself, and worthy his great co-patriot, has given the example of it †—the supreme legislature of the Union have decreed him the noblest honors—communities and individuals vie with one another in the testimonies of their respect and veneration. It is a great republican duty to crown with honors and with eulogies pre-eminent merit, and public services. Glory is the only reward which is worthy free states to bestow, or patriots to receive. All others, seizing on the principles of avarice, vanity, or pleasure, render the love of country only a secondary passion. The rewards of glory, to which sublime souls have always been devoted, still

* *Answer of congress to his speech on resigning his office of commander in chief.*

† *See the president's answer to the address of condolence presented by the senate.*

leave our country to be the first object in the heart. They are the homage which nations pay to superior virtue. Egypt, by her funeral panegyrics, first taught the world the influence of posthumous glory to create wise magistrates, illustrious heroes, and virtuous citizens. Greece, by the aid of her laurel and her ivy, of her statuaries and her painters, and above all, of her historians and her orators, rendered her citizens the admiration and the envy of the universe. Letters are more durable than marble. Long since, the monuments of Trajan and Agricola have perished ; but the glory of the one, and the virtues of the other, shall exist forever, embalmed by the genius of Pliny and of Tacitus. Yet, brass and marble shall not be wanting to record his fame. A monument, worthy a great nation, shall rise to him in the new capitol, that, like the capitol of Rome, shall be the centre of a universe of its own. Yield ! excellent lady ! who hast already known how to make so many sacrifices to thy country, yield to our solicitations his precious remains, that, laid at the foundation of those walls whence issue our laws, he may still seem to be the support of the republic.*

Ah ! could I make my voice resound throughout the earth—could I support, by my genius, the grandeur of the subject, I would hold him out as a model to lawgivers, and to princes. Heroes who place a false glory in overturning the peace and liberties of the world, should learn from him wherein true glory consists, and restrain their intemperate ambition. His actions should instruct the universe.

Rulers of the new world ! imbibe his spirit ! govern by his example ! It is then only that our tears for Washington can be dried up when we see his image revived in you. The grief that overwhelms us shall give place to the delicious tears of joy, when we see, springing from his ashes, so many illustrious and virtuous citizens, the ornaments and defenders of their country.

* *Since the delivery of this discourse we have been assured that Mrs. Washington has complied with the request of congress. See her admirable letter to the president of the United States.*

It is by imitating only, that you can truly honor him, and perpetuate the image of his virtues. Let statues and paintings exhibit his noble port, express his manly countenance, and convey to posterity the features of the man so honored, so beloved by his cotemporaries, and who, by future ages, will forever be ranked among the greatest benefactors of mankind. But, it is not by a lifeless mould, or the chisels of art—it is not by the products of the quarry or the mine, that the soul of a patriot can be represented, but by his spirit, and his actions, transmitted to posterity through a successsson of wise, brave, and virtuous, legislators and heroes.

I CANNOT forbear to remark the singular felicity of that excellent citizen whose memory we honor by the obsequies of this day. The malignant attacks of envy, which elevation and merit only provoke, he has almost wholly escaped. If faction has sometimes ventured to rear her head, and shoot out her sting against him, abashed by his virtue, she has instantly shrunk back, and retired into her own coil.——He has read his fame in the histories of his own, and of other nations—he has enjoyed the suffrage of posterity—he has seen himself in that light in which he shall be contemplated by the remotest periods of the world—he has possessed ages of honor before his death.—Dying, his felicity has still followed him. Has the history of nations ever exhibited such a scene of voluntary honors, of universal affliction, of sincere and mournful homage ?—Illustrious hero ! deign also to accept the unfeigned homage of our grief ! ———Friends of humanity and of liberty throughout the world ! it is for you to weep. Though America was the favored land which gave him birth, and is therefore entitled to be the first in grief, yet he was born for the human race.

WHILE Washington lived, the people believed that their guardian angel was still among them. By the mysterious decree of heaven he is taken from their vows and hopes in a moment when the tempest, that has so long beat upon the old world, threatens more and more to extend its fury to the new. Almighty God ! all events, and the hearts of all men, are in thy hands—save us from the cruel designs of hostile nations, who

may now gather presumption from the death of him who was accustomed to humble them ! Save us from the curse of divided councils, which his influence tended to unite ! Save us from the blind and intemperate rage of factious passions, which his presence has so often overawed ! Confirm among the people that union of sentiment, and that submission to the laws, which have been so long aided by the commanding ascendant of his genius !——Our prayers are heard. Divine providence which prepares those great souls who are the defenders and saviors of nations, will continue the succession of them, while those nations continue to respect religion and virtue—and, though Moses be removed, Joshua shall be left.

Finally, every thing serves to remind us of our departed and beloved chief, and to renew continually in our breasts the most grateful, along with the most afflicting, recollections. If the husbandman tills his lands, and calls them his own, have they not been gained by his wisdom and valor ? Do we enjoy our hearths, and our altars, in peace ? Have they not been purchased by his toils, and his dangers ? There is not a village, not a field, not a stream which he has not stained with the blood of our enemies,* or where he has not inscribed on the earth with his sword the characters of American liberty.—Ah ! by how many dear and tender ties does he hold possession of our hearts ! Wives and mothers think they have lost him who preserved to them their husbands and their infants—the young think they have lost in him a father—fathers that they have lost more than their children—the republic that she has lost her founder, and her savior—every citizen fears lest the peace, the union, the glory of America, is entombed with him.—No my fellow-citizens ! This fear shall not be realized. Washington, though dead, is not lost. His ashes shall defend the republic that contains them—the capitol, that rests upon his remains shall be immortal—his example shall live to instruct posterity—his virtues shall descend as a precious inheritance to future ages—the future lawgivers and rulers of America shall come

* *This is almost literally true of all the middle counties of New-Jersey.*

to his tomb to reanimate their own virtues. And, if it be true that the wise and good, amidst the supreme felicities of their celestial existence, are still occupied with the cares, and sometimes made the guardians, of that which was the dearest to them upon earth, O spirit of Washington! will not thy beloved country still be thy care?

Oration upon the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *delivered by captain* SAMUEL WHITE,* *of the* 11*th regiment, to the Union Brigade, consisting of the* 11*th,* 12*th and* 13*th regiments, near Scotch Plains, New-Jersey.*

Friends and fellow-soldiers,

THE honor of addressing you on this occasion was by me unsought for: whilst I acknowledge the compliment, I am ready to shrink from the responsibility of the task, and with extreme diffidence solicit, for a few moments, your attention and indulgence, while I attempt to discharge the important duty assigned me.

To commemorate the birth, and pay a just tribute of respect to the memory of our late illustrious and beloved commander; and in obedience to the orders of the president of the United States, "to testify publicly our grief for the death of general George Washington;" you are now assembled. This so often welcomed as the natal day of the greatest, and the best of men, since the establishment of American Independence, never before returned without gladdening every heart;—but, alas!—how changed the scene! The solemnity of our martial music,—your pensive and dejected countenances; declare that it is not as usual the anniversary of festivity and joy, but a day of sadness and of melancholy.

* *Now senator of the United States.*

I AM not conversant in the style of panegyric, and only aspire to address you in the plain, unvarnished language of a soldier. Our country at this moment presents the novel spectacle of an orphan republic, mourning the loss of a departed father.—Washington, the illustrious Washington—formed in the profusion of nature, and given to earth for universal good;—in whom all worth and virtue were united; so lately the living object of your esteem and love, rests now in the silent tomb, and has passed from time to eternity—has exchanged for a state more congenial to his exalted mind. In this exchange the great society of man has sustained a loss. To you, fellow-soldiers, and to your country, it seems almost irreparable. Were I here to indulge my feelings, I should pause, and leave to some abler friend the discharge of this arduous duty. To become the eulogist of a Washington requires a glow of fancy, a fertility of genius, an expanded range of thought, and powers of elocution that I am conscious I do not possess—language is too weak to do ample justice to his memory; but I flatter myself his venerable shade will not revolt at the humble testimonies of a soldier's grief. Alike regretted by all, the soldier and the citizen unite to mingle their sorrows together, and nobly vie with each other in the evidences of their affection. Wheresoever your eyes are turned, whatever hour of your lives is retraced, presents you with some new remembrancer of Washington, your father and your friend. The freedom you enjoy; the wisely constructed fabrick of your government, are his lasting monuments of worth and patriotism.

WHEN the insolence of power, aided by proud ambition, presented its hideous front; when tame submission to the iron rod of despotism, or resistance, apparently desperate, was the only alternative, then flamed the patriot's spirit high. Washington roused to vengeance by his country's wrongs, stood boldly forth the champion of her rights, and rendered to the cause of liberty the most essential service, in times of its greatest peril. In days that tried men's souls, when danger and death were at the door, and difficulties pressed on every side; Washington, born to command, to "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm," discovered to the astonished world, that in the wilds of America had been reared a hero, to eclipse in glory the

Alexanders of Greece, the Cæsars of Rome and the Hamdens of Britain—unrivalled in talents, and equal to the mighty task of working the salvation of his country.

Recur, my fellow-soldiers, to the winter of 1776; an æra ever memorable in the annals of America; when this state, nay the very site of this cantonment, was the theatre of his military honors; when, from the summit of yonder lofty mountain* he often reconnoitered the position, and viewed the manœuvres of the invading foe. This, fellow-soldiers, was the most trying time your country ever knew. The smothered flame of patriotism was near expiring; dismay had seized some of the stoutest hearts, and a brave people, despairing of success, were ready to sink under increasing misfortunes and yield to their hard fate. Such, before the battle of Trenton, was the lowering aspect of affairs; when in one night the brave, the gallant Washington, ever vigilant and prompt at expedients in moments of the greatest adversity,—by his distinguished generalship, changed the whole aspect of the war and rescued his country from impending ruin. By this success, and the train of victories that followed, and resulted from it, he cheered the drooping spirits of his countrymen and infused new life and vigor into the cause of liberty. I cite this only as the great crisis of the war: to recapitulate the splendid feats, the hard-fought battles and prominent exploits of Washington, to you who know them, would be superfluous, and swell this address beyond its proper limits. Contending against superior force, experienced generals, and troops inured to the hardships of the field; he surmounted every obstacle, triumphed over an enemy that had proudly affected to despise his efforts, and settled permanently the liberties you now enjoy.—Heaven grant they may be sacredly guarded "and transmitted as pure as they have been given!" Had this unfortunately been the period of his life; had the

* *The cantonment was immediately at the foot of the South-Mountain, on the summit of which is a rock called "Washington's Rock," from the circumstance of the General's frequently resorting there to view the enemy, particularly during the battle of Shortkills.*

establishment of American independence terminated the brilliant career of this great man, even then would his glory have been compleat; and the transcendant fame of Washington, foiling the scythe of time itself, been sounded to latest posterity;—but happily for you, my fellow-soldiers,—for your country and for the world, he was preserved to still the tempest, and put in a train of constitutional execution, what heaven had so wisely planned: to moderate the licentious spirit of revolution,—to bring order out of confusion, and to teach man true and rational liberty—was the task assigned to him—a task worthy the noble instrument.

When the great purposes of the revolution were accomplished,—peace and tranquillity restored to our land, and every man could enjoy secure under his own vine and his own fig-tree the fruits of his labor; then, and not till then, did Washington retire from the active scenes that had so long employed him, to seek, in the calm retreats of Mount-Vernon, and bosom of his family, rest from his toils.

Then fellow-soldiers, was presented to the world an instance of unprecedented patriotism; a victorious general, the idol of his army—resigning unlimited power, and returning again into the mass of his fellow-citizens—rewarded only for his invaluable services, by the plaudits of his own mind, and the blessings of his countrymen. But his day of retirement had not yet arrived; his country again soon needed the auspicious care of a Washington. The constitution of these states, formed by the collected wisdom of America, required his fostering hand to support, and guard its tottering infancy. To fill the presidential chair, and set in motion the vast machinery of a new and untried government, all hearts and voices were united in Washington. Called by the unanimous suffrages of his countrymen, to this perilous and difficult station; his private interest, and all the blessings that fortune and domestic happiness could yield, when weighed against the wishes of his fellow-citizens, and welfare of his country, sunk, and were forgotten. Relinquishing all other pursuits, he again embarked in the public service; noble jeopardizing, for the public good, on the tempes-

tuous sea of politics, his unbounded popularity acquired in the field of arms.

Accompany me for a moment, my fellow-soldiers, to the days of his administration ; they are now passing into the abyss of time ; but will forever be remembered. Had it not been for the wise policy, the foresight, and firmness of Washington, these states would now, no doubt, have been sharing in the miseries of Europe ; sunk in all the horrors of a revolution, and groaning under the calamities, that laid waste the fairest portion of the world. None but Washington, whose wisdom and virtue in the cabinet was equal to his bravery and conduct in the field, could have averted the gathering storm. Ever constant and faithful in the service of his country ; unmoved by the tumults of faction, or clamours of party, he sought, with undeviating steps, the public good—supported the honor of the government—defended the constitution sacred from the jacobin's unhallowed touch, and preserved for you the freedom you now enjoy. When the sparks of liberty were kindling in France, and all Europe stood gazing in anxious expectation to behold the event ; Washington was among the first to discover from the fury of the blaze, that, unless watched and guarded against, it would envelope the universe in flames. Hence his proclamation of neutrality, and the defensive measures of his administration that followed—measures planned with more than human wisdom—measures that defied the proud ambitious views of England, and all the vile insidious arts of France. Equal to every emergency at once, whilst engaged in the great and national concerns of Europe, he enforced submission to the laws at home ; the hideous spectre of insurrection at his approach concealed its execrable head ;—the name of Washington a host—his very appearance reduced to order and obedience the deluded multitude, and compelled the wretches who had seduced them from their duty, to sue for mercy at the feet of justice.

At length, grown gray in the public service, he once more determined to seek, in the peaceful retreats of private life, the repose and comfort his declining years required. This was an occasion, fellow-soldiers, you all remember, an occasion that

interested the heart of every patriot, that touched the sensibility of every honest American—the manner of his retiring—his affectionate farewell address to his fellow-citizens, endeared him still the more, and rendered the parting less supportable. But the day was fast approaching when he should again stretch forth the hand of assistance—his country had yet further claims upon his patriotism.

When the wanton and continued aggressions of the French nation threatened to involve these states in a war, all exulted that we had yet a Washington ; and accustomed to view him as an invincible chief, and sure defence, against every danger, he was again resorted to, and once more determined to unsheath his sword, and lead the armies of his country : you, my fellow-soldiers, are a part of those armies—yes, you, though young, have had the honor of being commanded by the founder of your liberties, and father of your country.—Such was the greatest and the best of men—such the illustrious Washington—such the man whose fame outstrips the fleeting winds : but he is now no more ;—heaven has been pleased to terminate a life glorious beyond example, and useful as it was glorious. Here let me pause for a moment : view, my companions, the picture thus faintly colored, and imitate the grand original.

Are ye eager then, fellow-soldiers, to live in the voice and memory of men ? Be patriots.—Are ye ambitious to shine forever bright in the annals of fame ? Be patriots. Patriotism is the focal point where all the dazzling virtues center, and blaze with unextinguishable lustre.

Is there a man so dead to the emotions of benevolence as not to feel a congratulating glow of soul when his country is crowned with success ? Is there a man, even in these degenerate days, who does not in fancy hurl the Syllas, the Cæsars of the world, from their baneful pre-eminence ; to chastise minion time-serving politicians ; designing, ambitious demagogues, or overgrown haughty despots ? When slavery clanks her chains—when danger threatens—when we are called together associated in arms

for our country's good—" what bosom beats not in that country's cause ?" Methinks resentment and indignation would make the coward brave, and every man a patriot,—but not so, fellow-soldiers.

Posterity will hardly credit the tale—posterity will incline to think it an historical fiction, or a legendary fable ;—but there are men at the present day ;—I speak it with grief,—with indignation I speak it ;—who, whilst the friends of this country are endeavoring, by negociation, and measures of defence, to ward off the threatened attacks of a foreign nation, and to preserve the independence of your country ;—use every means in their power to weaken the government—invite the insulting enemy to acts of hostility, and seek to reduce this free people under a foreign yoke. Persons of such base and sordid spirits deserve not to be freemen—they disgrace their privileges—they live despised ; happy could they die unknown. That we are and ought to be free, the voice of nature rings in our ears—that we can and shall live free depends solely upon ourselves : live patriots, my fellow-soldiers, and you will die freemen. For,

" The man resolv'd and steady to his trust,
" Inflexible to ill, and obstinately just,
" May the rude rabble's insolence despise,
" Their senseless clamors, their tumultuous cries ;
" The tyrant's fierceness he beguiles,
" And with superior greatness smiles.
" Not the rough whirlwind that deforms
" Adria's black gulph, and vexes it with storms ;
" The stubborn virtues of his soul can move ;
" Not the red arm of angry Jove,
" That hurls the thunder from the sky,
" And gives it rage to roar, and strength to fly.
" Should the whole frame of nature round him bre:
" In ruin and confusion hurl'd,
" He unconcern'd would hear the mighty crack,
" And stand secure amidst a falling world."

Address delivered at Greensburgh, in Westmoreland county, in the state of Pennsylvania, on the anniversary of the birth of the late illustrious hero, statesman and citizen, GEORGE WASHINGTON. *By* DAVID M'KEEHAN, *Esq.*

Fellow-citizens,

THE twenty-second day of February, in the year 1732, on the anniversary of which we are now convened, has been distinguished in the annals of America, by giving birth to the first of men—the hero—the sage—the founder and savior of our nation,—the illustrious WASHINGTON. Who from his cradle appeared elevated above the common imperfections and weakness of humanity: with a mind clothed with solemnity and wisdom, and splendidly serene. Whose youth foretold a momentous crisis, and whose early manhood pointed to some great event, then veiled in future time and the will of heaven. The sublime grandeur and majesty of whose form, illumined by his mighty soul, prognosticated the days of war and fields of fame.—Whose first martial deeds against a savage foe proclaim his valor, and whose prudence and firmness correct the errors, and retrieve the disasters of the experienced and renowned in arms.—Whose name early graces the historic page, and shines resplendent in the rolls of fame.

FITTED equally for the cabinet and the field, when the awful crisis approaches, and the important work which providence had fore-ordained and sent him to atchieve; when the liberty and safety of his native land is endangered; when the powerful arm of oppression is stretched forth, he appears august in its councils, and animates resistance. But the sword is unsheathed, and who shall lead its sons?——None but Washington: to him all eyes are turned and confessed he stands his country's choice.

WITH dignified diffidence and modest greatness he accepts the important trust; and while he nobly rejects all pecuniary compensation, stakes his life—his all in his country's cause.—How shall we trace his mighty course? What actions shall we

select, where the least discernible, like the *minutiæ* of nature, equally display the power and wisdom of their author ?

Shall we view him organizing and giving discipline to his untrained followers ; or follow him to the field where calm and undaunted he stems the tide of battle ? Shall we view him when by his wisdom and prudence, he shields from the powerful foe his feeble force—contending with want, hunger, and nakedness —the frequent dissolution of his army—with treachery and treason in his camp—harrassed with the applications, and vexed with the insolence and presumption of foreign adventurers ?—Or when distrust and want of confidence, so fatal both in war and peace, defeat those systems and check those operations, which his warlike genius and enlightened zeal had planned—and which, if pursued, would have saved much blood and treasure—shortened the war—established our independence, and without the aid of foreign arms ? Shall we contemplate him in his tent, when after the toils, labors, and anxieties of the day, he employs the hours allotted to sleep, to instruct the national councils of America—to point out their errors, the perilous situation of his country, and the path to its true interest. Or, shall we behold him with his reduced army, when danger and despair had appalled the hearts of his countrymen, supporting a winter campaign, and during a nightly tempest, crossing the angry and congealing Delaware, and on the hostile shore, surprising, defeating, and spreading dismay in the ranks of the enemy—restoring the hopes and courage of the nation, and animating them to perseverance ? Or, shall we view him under the scorching beams of a summer's sun, on the burning plains of Monmouth—meeting the advancing foe, retrieving a disastrous retreat, defeating and pursuing their brave and intrepid legions ?—But who can rehearse his immortal deeds ? They are imprinted on the hearts of the people, and recorded in the annals of his country. He fought and conquered ; and smiling peace returned to bless a new and rising empire.

Let us now see him after an eight year's war, during which with his brave brethren in arms, he had with unparallelled perseverance, contended with and surmounted the greatest dangers,

sufferings and discouragements, crowned with the wreaths of victory and glory, acting alone, and with parental solicitude and affection, before he resigns that appointment which he held in the service of his country, making to the several states and the people of the Union, his then supposed, last and official communication, congratulating them on the glorious events, which heaven was pleased to produce in their favor ; offering, with candor and liberality, his sentiments respecting those important subjects, which appeared to him intimately connected with the tranquility of the United States ; taking his leave and giving his blessing to that country, in whose service he had spent the prime of his life ; for whose sake he had consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights ; dilating on the subjects of their mutual felicitation ; pointing out the numerous advantages, scenes for enterprise and resources of their country, then in the acknowledged possession of freedom and independence ; the conspicuous theatre on which they were called to act—designated by providence for the display of human greatness and felicity. Reminding them of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, and the auspicious period at which our republic came into existence, and assumed its rank among the nations. That the foundation of our empire was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition ; but at an epocha, when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined than at any former period ; when the researches of the human mind after social happiness, had been carried to a great extent ; when the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labors of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years were laid open for their use, and their collected wisdom might be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government—when the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and that above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, had a meliorating influence on mankind, and encreased the blessings of society. But that though such was their situation and such their prospects, and the cup of blessing thus reached out ; yet that there was an option still left, and that it was in their choice, and depended upon their conduct, whether they would be respectable and pros-

perous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. That that was the time of their political probation—the moment when the eyes of the world were turned upon them—the moment to establish or ruin their national character forever—the favorable moment to give such a tone to the federal government as would enable it to answer the ends of its institution—or that it might be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing them to become the sport of European politics, which might play one state against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes ; that according to the system of policy the states should then adopt, they would stand or fall, and that it was still to be decided, whether the revolution would ultimately be considered a blessing or a curse—a blessing or a curse not to that age alone, but that with their fate, the destiny of unborn millions would be involved. Impressing upon their minds that infallible truth, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny, and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness. Inculcating the necessity of supporting and preserving public credit ; of fulfilling the public engagements and public contracts with good faith—of observing and rendering complete justice to all the public creditors, and especially to the brave defenders of their country's cause : and with a heart always open to the sufferings of others, recommending to their warmest patronage, that meritorious classs of veterans, who, on account of their wounds and sufferings, claimed the support of their country.—Impressing these and similar sentiments, as the legacy of one who had ardently wished on all occasions to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, would not fail to implore the divine benediction. Concluding with his earnest prayer, that God would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subbordination and obedience to government : to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, and particularly for their brethren who had served in the field—and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy and to demean themselves, with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind

which were the characteristics of the divine author of our blessed religion, and without an humble imitation of whose example in these things, they could never expect to be a happy nation.

Let us now accompany him in the affecting scene, when he comes to bid his brethren in arms, those whom he held most dear, an affectionate—a long farewell. When with them he reviews the past, placing before them as the reward of their unparalleled distresses, and consoling them for their sufferings—the recollection of the uncommon scenes in which they had been called to act so glorious a part, and the astonishing events of which each had been a witness—the contemplation of the complete attainment of the object for which they had contended, and the singular interpositions of providence in their favor. Exploring with them their future prospects, and pointing out the road to happiness—advising the line of conduct they ought to pursue—recommending, that with strong attachments to the Union, they would carry with them into civil society the most conciliatory dispositions; that they would not prove themselves less virtuous and useful citizens, than they had been persevering and victorious soldiers; that their conduct should be temperate, conscious that their reputation was beyond the reach of malevolence; that a consciousness of their atchievements and fame should excite them to honorable actions, under the persuasion that the private virtues of œconomy, prudence and iudustry would not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valor, perseverance and enterprise were in the field. Leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier to add his best endeavors to those of his fellow-citizens, to support the principles of the federal government, and to effect the increase of the powers of the Union, on which our very existence as a nation depended, and without which the honor, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost forever.—And while he acknowledges his obligations for the spirited and able assistance he had experienced in the performance of his arduous office, and professes his inviolable attachment and friendship, with a heart overflowing with tenderness, solicitude, and affection, offers his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayer to the God of armies, that ample justice might be

done them here, and that the choicest of heaven's blessings both here and hereafter, might attend those who under the divine auspices, had secured innumerable blessings to others.

Let us now behold him in the last scene of his official career, presenting himself before the august representation of America; again offering his congratulations for the great events which had taken place, again recommending to the favorable notice and patronage of congress, his brave followers in the field; acknowledging his gratitude for the favorable interposition of providence—commending the interests of his country to almighty God, and those who had the superintendance of them to his holy keeping—resigning into the hands of the supreme power of the Union, the commission of his important trust, bidding them an affectionate farewel, and retiring into private life amidst the applauses and blessings of his country.

Mighty Chief! illustrious Patriot! benevolent Sage!

With such an example before them; with such admonitions and such advice, strengthened by the soundest reasoning, and appreciated by such services and such virtues, who would have supposed that the people of America would not have adopted the wise and just policy which had been thus recommended? But unfortunately, mankind must too often learn from experience. The Americans sit down to "a costly and sumptuous banquet, while unseen, the sword of destruction is suspended over their heads, supported by a single hair." The great and important objects; "an indissoluable union of the states under one federal head; a sacred regard to public justice; the adoption of a proper peace establishment; the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition which would induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which would be requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interests of the community," so strongly and solemnly enjoined, are soon forgotten and neglected.—The voice of Washington is lost amidst the empty clamor of noisy demagogues: a

timid and procrastinating policy is adopted—the resources of the country cannot be called into operation—the fears and jealousies of the people are roused and kept awake by those who were preying upon the vitals of the country—national faith is lost—public credit and the justice of the nation languish—the just demands of the patriotic creditors remain unsatisfied—the reward of the faithful and victorious defenders of their country—the price of their toils, sufferings and blood, continue undischarged and depreciated—national bankruptcy and disunion threaten, with all the horrors of civil war, the loss of liberty, and independence.

At length on the brink of destruction, they awake from their security, and see the impending danger, and while with silent astonishment they contemplate the dreadful abyss, they remember the words of their father, the voice of Washington, and the enlightened patriots of America is again heard. Again the retired sage comes forth, and at the head of an illustrious band of statesmen, digests and completes a form of government, the wonder and admiration, not only of the wise and enlightened legislators of our own nation, but of the civilized world. Again he retires to the shades of private life, and the proposed form of government, by the influence of his character on the public mind, and the confidence reposed in his superior discernment, virtue, and integrity, is adopted and ratified, though opposed and assailed by the clamors of discontent, the positive and unrelenting obstinacy of ignorance, the fears of the timid, the arts of the unprincipled and interested, the presumptuous interference of factious and treacherous foreigners, the blasphemy of calumny and slander, and all the rage of party zeal.

But who shall be selected the chief magistrate of the Union, and at the head of the national councils, organize and give operation to that system which our American worthies had produced? Who shall retrieve the errors of neglect and inaction, and heal the breaches which discord and faction had made? In whom can the people repose unbounded confidence in this interesting crisis! Again they give their united call, and again he

steps forth amidst the shouts of applause, the tears of gratitude and blessings of his country. Triumphal arches mark his course —crowns of laurel overhang his passage—the hoary patriot salutes his approach—and choirs of white robed virgins sing his welcome and his praise.

With paternal solicitude he enters upon the duties of his important trust—again spending many anxious days and watchful nights, to secure the permanent happiness of his country, until the mighty fabric of our political salvation, protection, and honor, is reared and completed—quells domestic faction and insurrection—overawes foreign intrigue—beats back from our shores the destructive storm, which has threatened the annihilation of civilization—conducts his country in peace through the awful tempest—and exhibits to an admiring world an administration worthy his wisdom and his virtues.

"Admonished by the encreasing weight of years," and anxious to entrust with his countrymen, the administration of their government: having again pointed out that conduct and policy which would lead it to honor, prosperity, and happiness —he who had exchanged the character of the soldier—of the heroic and virtuous general, for that of the plain industrious citizen—he who had with so much dignity, prudence and firmness, held the reins of administration and wielded the sword of justice, always temperate with mercy—to complete the character of unequalled worth and true greatness—resigns the chair of state, that he might by his example teach his fellow-citizens, what it was to be an obedient and faithful subject of the laws under a free and efficient government. May the angel of peace administer consolation and satisfaction in his retirement, and may no inauspicious event disturb his felecity.

The rights of the nation are violated! Its honors insulted! Its liberty and independence menaced!—Tribute is demanded! Its sons are roused and indignant; they resolve to repel the unprovoked aggression. They gather round their chief, the wise, firm, and profound statesman, the worthy successor of their beloved Washington; assure him of their approbation and confi-

dence, and their fixed resolution not to survive the honor, liberty, and independence of their country.

But where is the chief who now shall lead the patriotic band? Why does the nation anxiously bend its looks toward Mount-Vernon? Can they again venture to disturb the repose of their aged father in the shades of peace and domestic happiness; must he again "enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble and high responsibility?"—Why does every face brighten with joy?—Why those shouts of applause?

The venerable hero is already armed! The watchful citizen had observed the insiduous hostility of the foe, he joins in the sentiments of approbation and confidence, expressed by his country in the wise and prudent administration of our virtuous president, and accepts the command of its armies. His name is an host—the enemy offers peace.———But behold his tomb!—And is Washington no more! Is that arm of power—is that form of majesty, confined to "the narrow house!" Is that eye which bespoke virtue and benevolence, closed in death! —Is that tongue from which flowed the words of truth and wisdom, silent in the grave!—Has that heart which ever melted at individual distress, and bled for his country's woes, ceased to beat!—Has the mighty fallen! No: thanks to God, Washington never fell. Like the resplendent orb of day, he has disappeared from our horizon, only to continue his course. With the same unshaken fortitude and equanimity, which he had displayed in the cabinet and the field, he meets death; with a firm and manly step, undaunted and serene he descends to the tomb,—divests himself of his mortality, that he may run an immortal course. Of him this world was unworthy—he has gone to another, and a much better—to the enjoyment of a more perfect society. Let us remember his virtues—let us deplore our loss, and around his grave mingle ours, with a nation's tears.

Let the fawning and tyrannic demagogue, elevated by falsehood and corruption, attempt to stop the full tide of feeling and heart-felt woe, "as inconsistent with the independence of freemen!" But freemen taught by the noble impulse of their

own feelings, and the example of the good and virtuous of all nations, in all ages of the world, will not be restrained in paying the full and grateful tribute to the memory of their greatest benefactor—their father—the father and savior of their country. It is an offering pleasing to heaven.

Though we have lost our renowned hero and illustrious statesman, he has left us his example and his works—they are an invaluable legacy. He has left us in possession of liberty, independence, a free constitution and government, and of that certain and uniform system of administration, which alone can preserve that liberty, that independence and that constitution.—He has left us the religion of our fathers.—"The altars of God still remain." To that revolutionary, disorganizing and destroying system of policy reared by modern philosophy on the sandy foundations of theory, speculation, infidelity, and insurrection, supported by falsehood, blood and crimes, and in which liberty is an empty name—he has opposed a system founded on the sure basis of experience, practice, and the true rights of man; and supported by truth, the doctrines of the christian faith and morality, and the pleasing and animating hope of immortality.

This system of government and laws yet stands secure amidst the awful storm; but how long it may thus stand, it would be presumption to anticipate. Who can be indifferent when he sees so powerful an opposition, as that, which failing openly and directly to overthrow our constitution, is now sapping its foundation by weakening the confidence of the people in its wise and regular administration? Or when he sees the uninformed invited by enthusiasts and ignorant demagogues, to decide with positive confidence on a whole system of laws, which they have never read; and upon a system of administration, where a Washington and an Adams would hesitate?——But

"*Fools rush in where Angels fear to tread.*"

When I see alien incendiaries and foreign traitors foremost in that opposition, I must doubt the justness of its cause. And when I hear the loudest cry in favor of liberty, the rights of

man, and plain republicanism coming from the superb palaces of southern aristocracy, swelled with the sound of the lash, and the tears, blood, and groans of their thousand slaves, I must suspect its sincerity. The daring advocates of the revolutionary,—"tempestuous"* and infidel liberty of the present day, are vigilant and indefatigable. To me our prospects appear dark; and perhaps it may only be necessary to exchange our christian chief magistrate for an infidel president, for the completion of their plans, and to effect the destruction of our religion, government, and union, plunge the nation into civil war and deluge it with blood. Pause, my fellow-citizens, before you make the awful trial, and contemplate the prospect. Beware of experiments which will be purchased with blood, lest it may cry to heaven. Consider what will be your situation when you have run your revolutionary career. When, pursuing those principles, which you are invited to adopt, you have overthrown your government;—when the justice and faith of the nation are lost;—when your hands have been imbrued in the best blood of the nation;—when you have seen the hoary veteran, who had fought at the side of Washington in defence of your liberty, and in purchasing your independence, after again attempting to save his country, flying for refuge, when his aged arm had failed, to the tomb of his beloved chief, and strewing it with his silvered hairs, while the streams of life follow the assassin's stab; "when you have unplumed the dead for means to destroy the living;" when the sacred obligation of oaths has failed; when you have abolished your sabbath; when you have renounced Moses and the prophets, and denied the divine author

* *Mr. Jefferson in his letter to Mazzei seems much dissatisfied with the people of America, for not embarking on what he calls* "the tempestuous sea of liberty." *The* tempestuous sea *of* liberty! *And has liberty ceased to be the companion of* order, religion, peace, security, regular government, and social happiness? *But why do we ask the question? Let us turn our eyes to France, where we will see the jacobin system of government in full operation; founded on* irrational reason, infidel religion, ferocious humanity, *and producing* revolutionary security, and tempestuous liberty!

of our blessed religion ; when you have proclaimed, that " there is no God, but the reason of man ; that death is an eternal sleep ;" and in your rage, have demolished and prophaned your temples, and thrown down your altars ; when you have performed and witnessed these ; and though your hearts have become as cold and malignant, as the principle of evil ; yet you may again feel the stings of conscience, and like the founders of infidel republicanism in France, when led to the slaughter by friends of liberty and republicanism, if possible, more bloody and ferocious than themselves, may believe that there is an hereafter, and may then repent that the precepts of Washington were rejected.*

Youth of America—natives of the land consecrated by his birth, I invite you to the grave of your father, and there, as if warned and animated by his spirit, let us pledge ourselves to preserve the honor, liberty, and independence of our country. Time has long since, been consigning the venerable founders and defenders of our nation, " to that bourne from whence no traveller returns."——At length our arm of war and oracle in peace is gone. The eyes of the world are fixed upon us. Let us not suffer ourselves to be robbed of our birth-right ; but let us possess and defend the rich inheritance of our fathers. Let us beware of trusting our country and our dearest interests to the cold and alien government of strangers ; to the guardianship of the men of the world—those unsocial, ungregarious, and ferocious monsters, who learn our accents that they may more easily devour.† Will America's son want virtue ? Will

* *It is said that a very interesting conversation took place among the leaders of the Brissotine faction, on their way to the Guillotine, respecting the immortality of the soul.*

† *It would be doing great injustice to rank all foreigners in the same class ; for though they must all want that superior attachment which every man, who is worthy of the name, feels for his native land ; yet many of them possess those amiable qualities and virtues which will in a great degree compensate for that want, and which will render them useful citizens and*

not his arm when called forth to defend his native land, be doubly nerved? Will not the presence and contemplation of the place of his birth—the enchanting scenery of his youthful joys —the temples and sepulchres of his fathers render him more amiable and humane, and inspire him with fortitude?—Let us be united and imitate the example of him whose loss we this day deplore, and our liberty will be secure.

Ye aged and respected matrons, accompany your sister to the grave of her honored, affectionate, and valiant husband; soothe her anguish; mingle your tears and speak consolation to her woes.——Daughters of America, repair to Mount-Vernon: youthful innocence enter the house of mourning; and while you join in paying the grateful tribute to the memory of your friend, your father, and protector, learn from the example of her, who parted from him in life that he might serve his country; and now at its call consents to a separation in the tomb.—Matchless virtue!—Amiable disinterestedness!

Friends and fellow-citizens, attend to the advice and admonitions of your departed father—collect his precepts—let them

obedient subjects of the laws of their adopted country. Such strongly participate in the affections of the Americans; such they respect: of such they wish to render their country worthy: —*This was the recommendation of the great Washington, when president of the Union, to its legislature. But the most numerous and dangerous class is that which is composed of modern philosophers and politicians, (and the ignorant of their countrymen, whom they can mislead) men of the world who disavow all local attachment; traitors to the country which they have left, and every where enemies of order and happiness; who come to seize the reins of our government—to force our venerable and virtuous patriots from their places, and under the mask of an artificial character, deceive the people and insinuate themselves into our councils. Against such desperate and unprincipled adventurers, let all honest foreigners and Americans unite, strip them of their mask, and expose them to the detestation of mankind.*

be placed next the system of faith and religion which has been handed down from your ancestors.—In this you will find the words of eternal life, and in both those maxims of truth, morality, and policy, which will secure your individual, social, and national happiness.

LET us support our constitution, our laws, and the administration of our amiable and enlightened chief magistrate. He who never deceived has told us that 'IT OUGHT TO INSPIRE UNIVERSAL CONFIDENCE,' and while with reverence and an humble resignation, we submit to the late awful dispensation of providence; and mingle our tears for the loss of the man "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," let us in his words pray "that God would incline the "hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination "and obedience to government, to entertain a brotherly affec- "tion and love for one another, and that he would most graci- "ously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mer- "cy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and "pacific temper of mind which were the characteristics of the "divine author of our blessed religion, and without an humble "imitation of whose example in these things, we can never "expect to be a happy nation."

Funeral oration on the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *delivered in the presbyterian church of Carlisle, to a crowded assembly of the military and other citizens. By* ROBERT DAVIDSON, *D. D.*

Friends and fellow-citizens,

WE are this day assembled, to pay funeral honors to the late beloved chief of the armies of America,—general GEORGE WASHINGTON. The loss we have sustained by the decease of this illustrious man can best be estimated, by that

deep sentiment of grief which penetrates all our citizens, from the president of the United States to the humblest peasant.

POSTERITY will scarcely believe, that one man could have united in himself so many great and shining qualities,—could have been in every point of view so accomplished,—as to attract the high admiration and unbounded confidence of all ranks and descriptions of men, during so long a period; and while discharging the highest duties, and filling the highest stations to which he could have been exalted. Early did he begin his career of glory; and so remarkable were the first essays of his military genius, that a pious divine,* as if moved by a prophetic spirit, near half a century ago predicted, that his services would one day be highly important to his country.

WHEN these colonies found themselves aggrieved by the parent state, and driven to arms in defence of their dearest rights,—the grand council of our nation, as if directed by some heavenly impulse, unanimously appointed him to the command of their armies. Few and ill-provided were the troops committed to his care;—arduous beyond expression was the task assigned him, to face the veteran, brave, and disciplined forces of Britain, with a few thousand yeomanry, hastily collected, and unpractised in the science of arms. What greatness of mind,—what confidence in the justice of his cause,—what reliance on the God of armies,—were here displayed! At the head of a

* *The Rev. Samuel Davies, sometime president of the college in New-Jersey. The sentiment was advanced in a note to a sermon, preached by him, on religion and patriotism, to captain Overton's independent company of volunteers, raised in Hanover county, Virginia, August 17th,* 1755.

Speaking of the revival of a martial spirit, he says, "as a remarkable instance of this, I may point out to the public that heroic youth colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope providence hath hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country."

fluctuating army, sometimes almost dissolved in consequence of short enlistments, and at some critical moments nearly in total want of military stores,—how great must have been the firmness, and how vast the resources, of his active mind! Unwilling to expose the life of a single soldier without necessity, or to risque an action without some good hope of success,—he was at the same time eager to seize every opportunity that offered, for striking some unexpected and decisive blow. To enter into particulars here cannot be expected: the faithful historian will do justice to the subject, in a full narrative of those campaigns, in which his patience was put to the severest trial, and his patriotism and fortitude most fully proved. In the gloomy periods of the revolution,—"the times that tried men's souls,"—when thousands were ready to despond,—his equanimity and perseverance gave animation to our troops and vigor to our councils. He infused as it were his own spirit into those that were placed under him, and may be said to have created as well as commanded the armies of America. Never did a people look up with more confidence, to any man placed at the head of their affairs, than we looked up to the father of our country. However threatening might be the aspect of the war,—as long as we heard that our Washington was alive, and his countenance still serene and wearing the placid smile of hope, we were confident that all would be well. Had we been deprived of him at a certain crisis, there was abundant reason to fear, our armies would have been dissolved, and our country brought to the brink of ruin! But, thanks to a kind heaven! that made his life and health its care; he was preserved to see the arduous contest happily concluded.

As he had taken up arms, for the defence of his country, not for military fame;—and as it was the height of his ambition, to see his country independent and her liberties established;—so he cheerfully laid down his arms, and retired to his farm,* when the angel of peace bid the warrior rest. What numerous

* *With great propriety, therefore, is he stiled the American* Cincinnatus, *and those who partook in his toils, and nobly imitated his example,* Cincinnati.

congraturatory addresses were now presented to the savior of his country! and how greatly admired were all his answers; how dignified, and how modest! how replete with excellent sentiments,—and especially those of gratitude to the great disposer of events, to whose favor he was always mindful to ascribe his victories! I mention this, because it has always appeared to be one of the brightest traits in his character. He ever showed a profound reverence and sincere gratitude to that almighty being, who "is governor among the nations," and who "raiseth up and casteth down at pleasure."

Happy in his retirement,—in the contemplation of our national prosperity, and in the consciousness of a well-spent life,—he was again called by the unanimous voice of his country, to preside over her councils, and to contribute his aid to cement the union of the states. For the confederation was found on trial to be only a rope of sand; and a new constitution and bond of union was absolutely necessary, to make us respectable abroad, and to secure a general co-operation and harmony at home. How much our illustrious Washington contributed to this good work, his grateful countrymen will long remember. Without this bond of union, we should have been, like some of the ancient rival states of Greece, engaged in perpetual quarrels among ourselves, and an easy prey to some bold invader. Under his wise and firm administration as first president of the United States, we enjoyed a great degree of peace and prosperity;—while the fierce nations of Europe were seeking each other's destruction.

When he had finished his course in this exalted station, he again retired to the shade of private life,—hoping never again to fill any public office.

But providence had something more for his chosen servant yet to do, before he should enjoy the repose of the grave. He must once more appear at the head of our armies. And we have reason to think, that his acceptance of this high command was of vast importance, both to call forth afresh the military spirit of his country, and to show foreign powers, that we know how to maintain, as we knew how to acquire, our independence.

But, ah ! how unexpectedly are we deprived of our accomplished chief ! How is the mighty fallen ! No rank, or power, no virtues, or honors, however pre-eminent, can save us from the great destroyer ! How exalted soever any man may have been, and however long and prosperously he may have lived,—the account must still be closed with the solemn sentence, he is here no more !

Weep, O America ! thy loss is great, let thy tears be many ! for thy most accomplished and best-loved son is snatched away ! The heroic general, the patriotic statesman, the virtuous sage !——His glory was indeed complete. There is no merely human character, delineated in the page of history, round which shine in fuller radiance the beams of every soul-exalting virtue : we can scarcely conceive of any thing which could be added, to give it a brighter lustre. Although far advanced in years, and his active powers and military ardor somewhat perhaps abated,—yet still his glory was full-orbed ;—and like the setting sun, though less dazzling, still retained the same magnitude, as at its meridian elevation. Providence unwilling, (if I may be allowed the expression) that his glory should be tarnished in the least, by an exhibition of any of those weaknesses that are incident to extreme old age, removed him to a higher world, while yet his mental powers were entire, and his life active and useful. It was a saying of Solon, one of the wisest men of Greece, to one of the richest of kings, who wished to be complimented as the happiest of men, that, no man should be called fortunate or happy, before death had finished his course. Not a few, who once were honored, have outlived their fame, and at last sunk, unnoticed or despised, into the grave. Far otherwise the hero whose praises we celebrate : as he was great in life, so he was great and magnanimous in death ; and he is " gone to the sepulchre of his fathers," laden with honors. Never perhaps was the death of any man, in any age, more sincerely, more generally lamented. Every where is heard the voice of condolence and the language of eulogy ;—every where the sable tokens of mourning are seen !

What an honor to a nation, to have given birth to such a man; and to have his name, as a hero, a patriot, and a statesman, to adorn the first and brightest pages of her history!

How much soever, therefore, we may have cause to mourn; let us be thankful that he has been called away, full of years, and with accummulated honors.

Let us see the hand of the Lord in all that befalls us; and pray to him, "whose arm is not weakened that it cannot save," to raise up for us other Washingtons, to lead our armies, and to inspire our councils.

Patriots of America, and military officers of every name! view the great example that is set before you. Emulate the virtues of your departed chief; and in due time, your heads will also be adorned with the wreath of honor. Here you will learn what is true and unfading glory. You will see, that it is not the man, who is led on by the blind impulse of ambition;—who rushes into the midst of embattled hosts merely to show his contempt of death; or who wastes fair cities and depopulates rich provinces,—to spread far the terrors of his name—who is admired and praised, as the true hero and friend of mankind;—but the man, who, in obedience to the public voice, appears in arms for the salvation of his country, shuns no perils in a just cause, endeavors to alleviate, instead of encrease the calamities of war, and whose aim is to strengthen and adorn the temple of liberty, as resting on the immoveable basis of virtue and religion. The voice of justice, and the voice of suffering humanity, forbid us, to bestow the palm of true valor on the mad exploits of the destroyers of mankind. Our hero's delight was to save, not to destroy. His greatest glory is, that with small armies, and the loss of few lives, (compared with the wastes of other wars) he made his country free and happy.

May America, while she admires his virtues, follow his councils, and learn from his excellent writings those precepts of wisdom, which, through the blessing of God, may exalt her to the highest felicity, and glory!

MAY the great disposer of all events, when he takes away the fathers of our country, who were first in council and first in arms, raise up others, worthy to fill their places! And may he over-rule all that concerns us, for his glory, and the happiness of his people; and to his name be endless praises.

Extract from an eulogy, on general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *pronounced at Boston, before the American academy of arts and sciences. By* JOHN DAVIS, *A. M.*

IN common instances of mortality, when a father or friend returns to dust, we do not take our final adieu, though the funeral rites be accomplished. Grief first admits, then invites consolation, from conversing on the lives of the deceased: a recapitulation of their virtues and of their meritorious actions is like Ossian's music, at once, "pleasant and mournful to the soul."

WHEN the father of his country; when a nation's friend descends to the grave, it is fit that public commemorations should mingle with private condolence: that we should frequently recal to view his reverend image, and repeat our votive honors to him, who was never weary in contributing to our happiness.

WITH such impressions, my literary fathers and friends, you have appointed this solemn meeting: with such impressions only, could I prevail on myself to attempt the task, which it has been your pleasure to assign to me.

DEATH has frequently taken a distinguished victim from the circle of your association. You have mourned the loss of the venerable Bowdoin, your revered president, your liberal patron, the friend and promoter of all that was excellent and pure: the public spirited, the munificent Hancock: the classical, eloquent Cooper: Clarke, in whom shone forth all the beauties of holi-

ness, whose pious lips were "wet with Castalian dews:" Belknap, learned, devout, and unaffected, worthy of being the biographer of Washington: Sumner, the cherished ornament of the commonwealth: to these, and many more of your beloved and respected associates you have bidden a sad farewel: they are removed from your pleasant meetings to the cold and silent mansions of the grave. This day you lament the loss of one, who was not indeed an attendant at your literary interviews; but who was still most dear: whose benign and happy influences travelled to their object, unimpeded by distance, like the mild and steady beams of planetary light.

"Thou sleepest the sleep of death, but we are not unmindful of thee O! Achilles: in life and in death, thou art equally the object of our regard and veneration." Thus sang the Grecian bard, to soothe the shade of a hero: with like affectionate reverence, with pious sensibilities, do we cherish thy memory, departed Washington, and pay repeated visits to thy tomb.

In contemplating a life, whose maturer portion was so singularly splendent, we are naturally prompted to look back to its commencement. Corresponding to that consistency of character, by which he was distinguished, marks of superiority are imprinted on the very threshold of his days.

In the early dawn of manhood, delicate and important public duties were committed to his charge. Then appeared some of those heroic virtues, that presaged his future greatness. Unshaken fortitude, firm perseverance, and sound discretion. Behold the intrepid messenger pursuing his weary way through a pathless wilderness. The assaults of the savage do not intimidate him: the severities of winter do not arrest his progress. He returns in safety and in honor: though Gallic artifice strewed his way with thorns: though the waters of the Alleghany had well nigh extinguished his valued life, when their impetuous current rolled over his youthful head.* Illustrious man,

* *See his Journal, published in the Massachusetts Magazine*, 1789.

then, as in all thy life, the conscious satisfaction resulting from a faithful discharge of duty, was thy sufficient, thy best reward: but how might it have cheered thy exalted spirit to have known, that far beyond the limits of thy long and arduous journey should extend an empire, which should acknowledge thee, as the most distinguished instrument of its establishment.

The same memorable ground next becomes the theatre of his military achievements; and at the early age of twenty-seven, he has attracted the admiration of his country and retired to his beloved residence, with public testimonials of their approbation and regard.

Agricultural employments, domestic endearments, and the discharge of civic trusts dignify and adorn the next fifteen years of his interesting life. But not these alone. In that calm interval, when common minds might have been corrupted by indulgence, or benumbed with satiety, the superior mind of Washington was improving under the wholesome regimen of systematic discipline. Faithful to the high obligations of truth and duty, faithful to himself, he studied the various relations, that bind the man and the citizen, and, in the shade of peace and retirement, prescribed to himself those rules and maxims of conduct, on which was reared the lofty edifice of his fame.

With correct and extensive views of the rights and interests of his country; with lively sensibilities, when they were invaded or endangered, he had a just title to the high honor of convening with that illustrious band of patriots and civilians, who composed the first national councils of united America. By that council, faithful and intelligent, deeply impressed with the mighty interests intrusted to their care, and well apprised that the fate of their country depended on their choice, he is unanimously appointed to command the feeble armies of an oppressed people, against the veteran arms of the first European power. He suffers himself to be advanced to that "painful pre-eminence," though his strong and comprehensive mind could not have been unmindful of the vast "sea of troubles," on which he was embarking.

With a less correct sense of public duty, he might have urged many claims to avoid the ponderous task; and in a dubious contest, multitudes from political opinion, and many, from an indulgent regard to an opulent and distinguished citizen, would have dignified the cautious decision, with the name of wisdom. He listens to no such unworthy suggestion. He takes council with himself—he obeys the call of his country—he hastens to the scene of action; and at no period, perhaps, does his conduct appear more elevated and interesting, than at that impressive moment, when he placed himself at the head of his applauded band of undisciplined husbandmen, on yonder classic plains.

The purity and magnanimity, manifested by the acceptance of that arduous trust, taught his admiring country to expect, with firm reliance, that, with those hopeful pledges, were associated all the protecting train of martial and of manly virtues.

Those animating hopes were completely realized. Modelled by his great example, the camp became a school of virtue, as well as of military science. There were seen unshaken fidelity; unsullied honor; humane and social sympathies; pure love of country; respect for the magistracy, and reverence for the laws. He sustained the standard of American liberty with energies suited to her character: tempering authority with mildness, bravery with discretion.——Intrepid in danger, clement in victory, undismayed by disaster, he bore the precious deposit through a long and perilous conflict, animated by the applauses of a grateful country and the admiration of the world.

The eventful occurrences that developed his talents and his virtues, are too deeply impressed upon the momory of those whom I address, to require a repetition. They were strongly associated with all you held most dear. Revolving years, life's multiplied concerns, a long and happy participation of succeeding peace and prosperity, have not effaced them from your remembrance. And ye, ingenious youth, whose existence commenced in the age of Washington, who have seen only his set-

ting sun, in the mirror of history you will behold the bright reflection of his meridian beams. You will learn of your revered sires, how they were animated by their benign and cheering influence. Ask of those who bare you : they will tell you, how his guardian form dispelled distressing terrors, and protected by his arm, with what calm complacence they watched your infant slumbers.

The elevated sentiments and expanded views, which inspired the mind of every active citizen, during the memorable contest for liberty and independence, were not satisfied with the firm pursuit, or the assured prospect of those interesting objects. During a struggle for political existence, you studied the liberal embellishments of a state, and like Pliny on Vesuvius, attended to the pursuits of science, undismayed by the thunder and the storm, by which you were assailed. This literary establishment was a child of the revolution. Europe beheld it with admiration. The friends of America contemplated it with delight. They considered it as affording renewed evidence, that you were resolved on the attainment of freedom, and were worthy of its enjoyment.

The illustrious man, whose loss we now deplore, was among the first of your elected associates. It was a time of multiplied calamities. The military operations of the enemy were to be opposed in five different states of the Union. A mind occupied with such immense concerns, could not be expected to apply itself to the immediate objects of your institution. Yet he accepts your invitation ; looking forward, doubtless, to the happier days, when the arts of peace should succeed the horrors of war. As the first among the public characters of the age ; as the pride and defence of your country, he was entitled to the earliest and most respectful expressions of your attention : but he was your associate by still more appropriate characters, by dispositions and accomplishments, altogether congenial to the nature and end of your institution.

It is among the declared objects of your enquiry, to examine the various soils of the country, to ascertain their natural

growths and the different methods of culture: to promote and encourage agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce: to cultivate the knowledge of the natural history of the country, and to determine the uses, to which its various productions may be applied.

Pursuits of this nature always commanded his attention, and to some of them he was peculiarly attached. They were frequently the topic of his conversation, and the subject of his correspondence, with ingenious and public spirited men, in different parts of the world.

With a mind well-fitted to acquire just conceptions on any subject, to which his attention was directed, he would, I am persuaded, have been distinguished in the abstruser branches of science, if the course of life, which he had chosen, or to which he was impelled, had not been incompatible with the pursuit. In patient investigation, unwearied assiduity, and systematic arrangement, he was excelled by none. The uniform success, which attended his operations in military and political life, evinces great solidity of judgment: and he, who could produce such correct and prosperous results, in the great affairs of a nation, so liable to be defeated or impeded, by the ever varying humors and prejudices of men, with like application, might have been equally distinguished in the steady regions of science, whose permanent relations and connected truths, never fail to disclose themselves to industrious research and attentive contemplation.

But though a man of contemplative habits, he was still more fitted for action. It became necessary for the repose and happiness of his country, that he should leave the asylum of his declining years. Obedient to that voice, which he could never hear but with veneration and love, he exchanges a retreat which he had chosen with the fondest predilection, for the anxieties and toils of political elevation. How was he honored in the midst of the people, in coming forth from the shades of his retirement. "He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud; and as the moon at the full; as the sun, shining upon

the temple of the MOST HIGH; and as the rainbow, giving light in the bright cloud."*—

THE duties of an employment, which is accepted with reluctance, are frequently discharged with symptoms of weariness or disgust: but he engaged in the multiplied labors of his new and arduous station, as if it were the fond object of his choice; and though enjoying a weight of character, which would peculiarly facilitate his measures, yet he discovered a laudable solicitude, that they should possess an intrinsic propriety, and conducted himself with as much caution and circumspection, as if he were for the first time a candidate for public favor.

THE interesting objects of his care, and their direct and intimate connection with the solid interest and permanent welfare of his country were indeed congenial to the best wishes of his heart, and fitted to relieve the unavoidable solicitudes of his station. To regard with comprehensive and equal eye the great assemblage of communities and interests over which he presided: to settle pure and solid foundations of national policy, consistent with the eternal rules of order and right which heaven has ordained: to establish public credit: to revive mutual confidence: to introduce with the native tribes on the frontiers, a system, corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philantrophy: to provide for the national security, by suitable military establishments: to found the safety of the United States, on the basis of systematic and solid arrangement: to guard against infractions of the laws of nations: to maintain a friendly intercourse with foreign powers: to exhibit that stability and wisdom in the public councils, which should be a just ground of public confidence: to adopt measures for the accomplishment of our duties to the rest of the world, and create a capacity of exacting from them the discharge of their duties towards us: to maintain to the United States their due rank among the nations of the earth: to vindicate the majesty of the laws, against violence and insurrection: to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of the constitution:

* *Ecclesiasticus.*

to extinguish the causes of external differences, on terms compatible with national rights and national honor: to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderness, which national justice, dignity and safety might permit, and to exemplify the pre-eminence of a free government, by all the attributes, which might win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world.*—These were the momentous pursuits, which occupied his elevated mind, and engaged his warmest affections: for these purposes, he invited the aid and co-operation of the enlightened counsels of the Union; and, in spite of the petulance of opposition, or the effusions of faction, his prosperous country and its grateful inhabitants, will testify that they have been accomplished.

Extract from a discourse, occasioned by the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *delivered in Trinity-church, Newark, New-Jersey. By the Rev.* UZAL OGDEN, *D. D.*

TEXT—"*Know ye not, that there is a prince, and a great man fallen this day in Israel?*"——II. Samuel, iii. 38.

IT is declared by the Psalmist, that "the Lord is good unto all, and that his tender mercies are over all his works." The goodness of God to us, hath been exhibited in numerous and striking instances; particularly, not only in the great honor, dignity, and happiness of our original state; in our redemption from sin and misery, through the son of his love; in "giving us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness;" but in raising up illustrious characters, in divers ages and countries, for the benefit of men;

* *See Washington's speeches to congress, from which the above summary of his presidential pursuits is selected, with little variation from his own impressive language.*

for their civilization ; for their knowledge of useful arts and sciences ; for their advancement in morals and religion ; and for their enjoyment of civil and religious liberty.

I MIGHT for hours, and even days, detail the names and merits of such benefactors of the world ; and it is with pleasure I observe, that this infant country can boast of many such worthies, in various professions of life ; but I mean only, at present, as a testimony of unfeigned respect to his memory, to mention but one of these distinguished men, and to dwell a little on his character.

WHEN so "great a man" as WASHINGTON "falls," in our Israel, unaffected must we be by loss ; devoid also of sensibility and gratitude ; regardless, likewise, of merit, decency and general custom, if we do not mourn his death and attempt to proclaim his worth !

FOR what hath been more common, than, by panegyric, or by mourning, publicly to notice the death of eminent men ? The ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as the Jews, were particularly attentive to such melancholy events. It was not uncommon for the Israelites to lament the death of an illustrious character among them ; to reflect upon and recount his virtues ; thus, particularly, we are informed, that "the children of Israel wept for Moses, in the plains of Moab, thirty days." And what was more common, than for the primitive christians to deliver eulogiums on those distinguished for virtue and piety ?

THOUGH Abner was not so eminent a character as Moses, yet, as he was "a prince," and a famed captain in Israel, his death was not suffered to pass unnoticed ; but was most sincerely lamented by king David, and attended with funeral honors. "And the king said unto his servants, know ye not, that there is a prince, and a great man fallen this day in Israel ?"

WHAT rendered the death of this prince more afflicting, was, he fell by the hand of the assassin Joab ; who "took Abner aside in the gate to speak with him quietly, and smote him there under the fifth rib, and he died."

David declared his obhorrence of the murderous act; and said unto the people that were with him, "rend your clothes, and gird you with sackcloth, and mourn before Abner. And king David himself followed the bier, and they buried Abner in Hebron; and the king lifted up his voice and wept at the grave of Abner; and all the people wept."

"The news of Abner's death (saith a Jewish historian) went to the heart of David, insomuch, that the instant he heard it, he stretched forth his right hand towards heaven, uttering execrations against the assassin, whoever he was, and all his accomplices; and this, not only in detestation of so base and unmanly an action, but also to declare, that upon the strictest niceties of faith and honor, he had been true to Abner (who had joined the house of Saul against David)—for whom the king, by proclamation, appointed a public mourning, with all the solemnities of tearing of garments and putting on sackcloth. He himself, with his great ministers and officers, assisting at the funeral, and giving sufficient demonstrations, by wringing of hands, beating their breasts, and other expressions of sorrow, both for the veneration they had for Abner's memory, and the sense they had of so inistimable a loss. He caused the body to be interred at Hebron, with great state and magnificence, composing an epitaph himself to honor the deceased. He was the chief mourner, and a precedent to all the rest, who acted in conformity to his example."

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Ah! dread event!—How shall it be expressed?—Washington, the "great man in our Israel;" the glory of our country; the brightest ornament of human nature; the admiration of the world—"falls"...dies!...Not by the hand of treachery, as did Abner, but by the power of disease!

O death! how great thy triumph? Ah! how cruel thy stroke? Who feels it not?

Cease to weep, thou partner of his heart ; ye relatives and friends of virtue ! Cease to weep, ye fathers in council ; ye citizens of America ! For Washington weep not ! He died in honor, in peace with his God ; in full resignation to the will of heaven !

He lives ; he moves in a more exalted sphere ! He lives too in your affections and remembrance ! And his fame shall live ; shall be transmitted from age to age, with growing lustre, till time shall be no more !

Astonishing has been the effect of general Washington's death, in these states. See our venerable president, with the members of both houses of congress, clothed in the garb of sorrow, and reciprocating their language of condolence ! See the halls of congress and our temples of worship, drest in mourning ! See in our ships of war, and on our military staffs, the signals of grief ! See the officers of our army and navy, and our citizens throughout the Union, displaying the badge of sorrow ! Hear the bells proclaiming the mournful event,—Washington is dead ! See our public prints, clad in black, declaring the same awful truth ! Behold numerous processions of mourning ! Hear the pulpits wailing his death and announcing his worth ! Behold him the mournful theme of lay orators of the first distinction ! Listen to the muse, which also mourns him dead, and sings his praise ! See every countenance dejected with grief, and every heart torn with anguish !

What an eulogy ? What mortal before, received such praise ; such honors in life, and after death ! And what man, before, so justly merited them ?

General Washington, it may be remarked, in several respects, hath been singularly fortunate. How many, with exalted virtues and splendid talents, have commenced their career of fame and usefulness to men, as heroes and statesmen ? But how few have reached the goal, and obtained the rewards of merit ?

How many have been suddenly cut down by the scythe of death? And, among ourselves, did there not thus fall a WARREN, a MONTGOMERY and a MERCER? How many through error in judgment, have wandered from the path? How many have been checked, stopped in their course, by the power of envy, pride, hatred, calumny or ambition? And how many have been turned aside by the force of gold?

To our reproach, had we not one of this character among us? In the person of a general, of an hero, of a professed patriot, had we not a traitor? I grate not your ears with the sound of his name of infamy.*

BUT, to our honor, besides a Washington, have we not been blessed with numerous heroes of patriotism? With numerous patriotic legislators of wisdom, who, to their country have rendered very important services? If all these services have not been rewarded according to their deserts,† shall we be charged with ingratitude? Or shall poverty be our apology?

IT is painful to reflect that often, but too often, uniform, persevering and successful merit; distinguished deeds of bravery and pariotism, have not only been treated with neglect, but even with insult and barbarity! Among the several worthies thus treated, whose names now occur to me, there is one whose case is so affecting, that I beg to be indulged the liberty of reminding you of it.

BELISARIUS was general of the armies of the emperor Justinian, and, most deservedly, high in the confidence and esteem of his prince. This general possessed superior talents; undaunted valor; the strictest probity; great modesty, and the most ardent loyalty. He was justly regarded as the most illustrious captain of the age, and rendered his country the most eminent services, by his victories in Italy, Africa and Persia.

* *Benedict Arnold.*

† *See Gordon's History, Vols. II and III.*

In the year five hundred and thirty-two, so formidable a sedition was excited at Constantinople, that Hypatius was proclaimed emperor; and so powerfully was he supported by Probus and Pompeius, nephews of Anastasius, that Justinian was on the point of fleeing the city. From this measure, however, he was dissuaded by Belisarius, who soon suppressed the rebellion: And so disinterested and faithful a subject was he, that, having captured Vitiges, king of the Goths, and his whole family, in the city of Ravenna, this general chose rather to convey them to Constantinople, than to accept the Gothic crown, which he was even pressed to receive.

But see the effects of envy! See the consequences of credulity and injustice in a monarch!

Belisarius, without proof, was accused of a conspiracy against his prince. And behold! in consequence of the accusation, the venerable patriot-soldier divested of authority, reduced to poverty,—and, after having had his eyes plucked out, abandoned, compelled to beg his bread in the streets of Constantinople!

But our Washington nobly disclaimed the reward of gold for his services; nor did he covet the praise of men! His countrymen, however, with the most heart-felt pleasure, honored him with their approbation; with their gratitude and applause! He enjoyed also the applause of Europe and even of the whole world!

But, to the disgrace of human nature, towards the close of his administration, there were a few unworthy men, who had the audacity and impiety to open their lips of calumny against him! Men who, from the baseness of their hearts and wickedness of their views, were unworthy even to utter the name of Washington!—But men (among whom stood conspicuous the noted sot and infidel, Thomas Paine) who were as unable to detract, by their language of scurrility, folly and falshood, from the merits of a Washington, as would have been futile their attempt to poison the Atlantic, by infusing into it the venom of a reptile; or their effort to have extinguished the sun, by ejecting their filthy saliva towards it!

If we view general Washington in *private life*, we shall still perceive that he acted worthy of himself.

As an husband, besides his fidelity, he was attentive and affectionate. As a friend, he was faithful and sincere. As a neighbor, he was just, generous and obliging. As a citizen, he was highly deserving praise; for he not only honored the laws of his country, but, in every respect, promoted its interest to the utmost of his power; especially by countenancing and promoting seminaries of learning and works of public utility.

To the poor, he was liberal; to the stranger, hospitable. As a master, he was lenient and kind, and, to all, his deportment was affable, though grave; benevolent, without pride; and pleasing, without affectation. His manners were plain, but dignified; in his conversation he was easy, instructive, but not loquacious; and he made no display of any superior knowledge, virtue or talent that he possessed.

He encouraged modesty and virtue; but frowned upon impudence and vice. As he venerated truth, he discountenanced falshood; and, being generous himself, he abhorred meanness of spirit. He was revered and beloved by all who had the honor of his acquaintance. His person was tall and majestic; his eye intelligent and penetrating; his countenance placid, serious and thoughtful; and his dress devoid of superfluous ornament, but always neat and becoming the character in which he appeared.

But there is yet another point of view, in which we are to behold general Washington, and in which he shines also with great lustre;—we must see him in his *christian* character.

Educated in the principles of the christian religion, he continued to embrace it from a conviction of its truth.* The impious and infidel philosophy of the present day, excited only his pity, his virtuous contempt and indignation! His faith in Jesus Christ, the *Son* of *God*, was unshaken; and he was careful to

* *He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal church.*

venerate the precepts and public institutions of that holy and divine religion he professed. He adorned it by a life of industry, sobriety, temperance and chastity; humility, justice, charity, piety, faith and trust in God.

And is it not most reasonable to conclude, that to his christian virtue it was principally owing, that in prosperity he was not haughty? That in adversity he did not despair? That in the hour of temptation he was inflexible? And that, amidst all the changes and vississitudes; the storms and tempests of life,—he remained calm, serene, unappalled, undismayed; putting his trust in that God who "is a present help in time of trouble;" and who "saveth the upright in heart?"

In this character, we behold him rising superior to every sinful indulgence; to every calamity or affliction that awaited him; to all the praises and acclamations of men; to all the pomp and shew and grandeur of the world.

How peaceful and serene was his breast! How happy his life! And what blessedness attended him at his death! Though its approach was sudden, it seems to him not to have come unexpected! He received its summons without fear or dread!—With calmness; with dignity; with perfect resignation to the will of heaven, and with rational hopes of a blessed immortality, he resigned his breath to him who gave it!

Happy spirit! Delivered from the clog of mortality, with what holy triumph was it conveyed by angels to the world above; ushered into the courts of God, and invested with that palm of victory and crown of glory, which fade not away!

How, my brethren, should our hearts glow with gratitude to God, for blessing us with so inestimable a character? What greater *honor* can we now do *him*—or what greater *benefit* can we bestow on our *country*, than by our endeavors to *imitate* his *example?* And though we cannot hope, by our best conduct, to be as useful to mankind, nor to enjoy his earthly fame; yet, all of us, through divine goodness, may equal him in *christian* vir-

tues, enjoyments and rewards! Let us, then, devote our hearts to God; put our trust in him, and revere his holy laws!

WILL God Almighty of his infinite mercy grant that such may be our happiness;—for the sake of the merits of Jesus Christ, our Lord; to whom, with the Father and Holy Ghost, three persons, but one God, be ascribed everlasting praise

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Extract from a discourse, delivered at Woodbury, in New-Jersey, on the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON. *By* JOHN CROES, *A. M. rector of Trinity-church, at Swedesborough.*

THAT great and good man, that first of citizens, and first of heroes, "O! how my heart trembles to relate it!" is gone, irrevocably gone, to the mansions of the dead! His fine majestic form, so expressive of native dignity; his mild but animated countenance, so true an index of the excellencies of his mind; that corporeal mansion, in which he ran his glorious earthly race, has ceased to be the habitation of his immortal part, and, like all terrestrial things, is now rapidly decaying, and mouldering to its native dust. Alas! no more shall we see that interesting figure, that placid but manly face; to behold which was the luxury of curiosity, and the pride and de-delight of the heart. No more shall the music of his voice charm our admiring ears. Ah! no more shall our gallant soldiers follow their Washington to victory and fame. No more shall the influence of his name be the palladium of our republic, and the terror of faction. The loss we have sustained, accord-to our finite calculations, is truly immense and irreparable. No mortal's death, since the existence of man, has been more sincerely and universally deplored. But while we grieve for the excessive calamity we have experienced, let us remember, that death is inseparable from our nature; that nothing within the limits of human excellence and attainments, can rescue any one from that inevitable fate which awaits us all: that if the sum-

mit of human glory, if the brightest virtues of man, if the tears and supplications of a nation, if the respect and applauses of a world; in fine, if the whole assemblage of mortal honors and perfections could have revoked that destiny of our nature, Washington, our glory and our delight, would not have died. Under the impression of this self-evident truth, however excessive our loss, we should not repine; but, with entire resignation, consider that the ways of heaven, though inextricable by our limited capacities, are notwithstanding fraught with infinite wisdom, and consummate goodness. Let us therefore dry up our tears, and while we cordially and cheerfully submit to a dispensation of providence so peculiarly afflictive, let us make our grateful acknowledgements to the source of all good for his distinguishing favor, in sparing, so long, a life so precious, and so useful.

Shall we stop here, my respected audience, and seek no further for an alleviation of our sorrow? Are there not consolations more ample and joyful yet remaining? Yes, infinitely more. Our Washington is not dead!

"*Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori. Cælo musa beat.*"*

He has only exchanged a world of temptation and woe, for a world of bliss and glory eternal. "I am the resurrection and the life;" saith our Lord, "he that believeth in me, though "he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth, and "believeth in me, shall never die." Having devoted a life, full of years, to the most honorable and beneficial offices; having been the bulwark of his country in war, and her mentor in peace, and having set the purest and brightest examples of virtue, and piety, before his successors, before his countrymen and the world, his course being finished, he left all that was mortal behind him, and soared like a cherub to the realms of perpetual day; and is now resting, we trust, in the bosom of his saviour and God, and enjoying the sweet rewards of his well-spent life.

* *Horace.*

O DIVINE revelation! who openest to us such enchanting hopes, who affordest us such sources of real consolation in the calamity we deplore, and in others of a similar nature; may we, like that incomparable man, never forsake thy luminous, thy heart-cheering paths, for the dark, gloomy and uncomfortable mazes of infidelity and doubt.

HAVING, therefore, such ample reasons to be satisfied with this dispensation of heaven, and to be resigned to HIS will, "whose wisdom is unerring, and whose goodness is unchangeable and everlasting," will it be considered an improper conclusion to direct our attention, for a moment, to the solemn event of our own deaths? We have seen that no virtues, however excellent; no services, however beneficial and extensive; no honors, however numerous and grand; can deliver us from the power of the king of terrors. Die we must. It becomes then a subject of serious concern to us, whether or not we are prepared to follow our beloved and admired brother into the world of happy spirits. That we may draw a just conclusion, let us remember, that it is by the arduous path of faith, piety and benevolence, we must climb the heavenly mount. The beaten road of unbelief, ungodliness and immorality leads directly down to the shades of eternal death.

IF heaven be our object, we must follow the path that conducts to it. If we hope again to behold our beloved and much lamented Washington, we must live as Washington lived. "We must deny ungodliness and worldly lusts and live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world." Thrice happy they, who undeviatingly pursue this sublime course! At that awful hour, so tremendous to the wicked, they may say, with composure, as our Washington said in his last moments; I "have no fear to die." O blessed exit! how devoutly to be desired! May infinite goodness make ours as happy!

Extract from an oration, on the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *delivered in Alexandria, at the request of the committee of arrangement. By Doctor* ELISHA CULLEN DICK.

FOUR millions of the human race, free in their thoughts and affections—unrestrained in their actions, widely dispersed over an extensive portion of the habitable globe, are seen devoted to a single purpose;—A people detached by local causes—actuated in common life by opposite views, or rivals in the pursuit of similar objects;—jealous in all other matters of general concern—are offering the tribute of affection to the memory of their common friend. In vain shall we examine the records of antiquity for its parallel. Worth so transcendent as to merit universal homage, with a correspondent desire to bestow it, mark an event in the history of our country, that may be considered as a phenomenon in the annals of man.

MODEST and unassuming, yet dignified in his manners—accessable and communicative; yet superior to familiarity, he inspired and preserved the love and respect of all who knew him. For the promotion of all public and useful undertaking, he was singularly munificent. The indigent and distressed, were at all times subjects of his sympathy and concern. His charity flowed in quiet but constant streams, from a fountain that was at no time suffered to sustain the smallest diminution. No pursuit or avocation, however momentous, was permitted to interrupt his systematic attention to the children of want. His anxious solicitude on this score is pathetically exemplified in a letter written in 1775, at a time when the unorganized state of the army might have demanded his exclusive concern. Addressing himself to the late Lund Washington, he writes—
"Let the hospitality of the house be kept with respect to the "poor. Let no one go away hungry. If any of this kind of "people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, "provided it does not encourage them in idleness. I have no "objection to your giving my money in charity, when you "think it will be well bestowed. I mean that it is my desire,

" that it should be done. You are to consider that neither " myself nor my wife are now in the way to do these good " offices."

Such, my fellow-citizens, was the man whose memory we have assembled to honor. It has been your peculiar felicity often to have seen him on the footing of social intimacy. That the inhabitants of Alexandria, held a distinguished place in his affection, you have had repeated testimony. You have seen his sensibility awakened, on occasions calculated to call forth a display of his partiality. The last time we met to offer our salutations, and express our inviolable attachment to the venerable sage, on his retiring from the chief magistracy of the Union, you may remember that in telling you how peculiarly grateful were your expressions, the visible emotions of his great soul, had almost deprived him of the power of utterance.

But heaven has reclaimed its treasure, and America has lost its first of patriots and best of men—its shield in war; in peace its brightest ornament, the avenger of its wrongs, the oracle of its wisdom and the mirror of its perfection. His fair fame, secure in its immortality, shall shine through countless ages with undiminished lustre. It shall be the stateman's polar-star, the hero's destiny; the boast of age; the companion of maturity and the goal of youth. It shall be the last national office of hoary dotage to teach the infant that hangs on his trembling knee, to lisp the name of Washington.

Extract from a funeral oration on general George Washington, *delivered in the temple of Mars, at Paris. By* Louis Fortanes.

France, unbiassed by those narrow prejudices which exist between nations, and admiring virtue wherever it be found, decrees this tribute of respect to the manes of Wash-

ington. At this moment she contributes to the discharge of a debt due by two nations. No government, whatever form it bears, or whatever opinion it holds, can refuse its respect to this great father of liberty. The people who so lately stigmatized Washington as a rebel, regard even the enfranchisement of America, as one of those events consecrated by history and by past ages. Such is the veneration excited by great characters. The American revolution, the contemporary of our own, is fixed for ever. Washington began it with energy, and finished it with moderation.—He knew how to maintain it, pursuing always the prosperity of his country; and this aim alone can justify at the tribunal of the most high, enterprises so extraordinary.

"From every part of that America which he has delivered, the cry of grief is heard. It belonged to France to echo back the mournful sound; it ought to vibrate on every generous heart. The shade of Washington, on entering beneath this lofty dome, will find a Turenne, a Catinat, a Conde, all of whom have fixed their habitation here. If these illustrious warriors have not served in the same cause during life, yet the fame of all will unite them in death. Opinions subject to the caprice of the world and to time; opinions, weak and changeable, the inheritance of humanity, vanish in the tomb: but glory and virtue live for ever. When departed from this stage, the great men of every age and of every place, become, in some measure, compatriots and cotemporaries—they form but one family in the memory of the living; and their examples are renewed in every successive age. Thus, within these walls, the valor of Washington attracts the regard of Conde; his modesty is applauded by Turenne; his philosophy draws him to the bosom of Catinat; a people who admit the ancient dogma of a transmigration of souls, will often confess that the soul of Catinat dwells in the bosom of Washington.

The following elegantly drawn character, of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *was published in London, Jan.* 24, 1800.

THE melancholy account of the death of general Washington, was brought by a vessel from Baltimore, which has arrived off Dover.

GENERAL Washington was, we believe, in his 68th year. The height of his person was about five feet eleven; his chest full; and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped and muscular. His head was small, in which respect he resembled the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes were of a light blue color; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his nose long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait painter, used to say there were features in his face totally different from what he had ever observed in that of any other human being; the sockets for the eyes, for instance, were larger than what he ever met with before, and the upper part of his nose broader. All his features, he observed, were indicative of the strongest passions; yet, like Socrates, his judgment and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast in the eyes of the world. He always spoke with great diffidence, and sometimes hesitated for a word; but it was always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language was manly and expressive. At levee, his discourse with strangers turned principally upon the subject of America; and if they had been through any remarkable places, his conversation was free and particularly interesting, for he was intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He was much more open and free in his behavior at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies still more so than when solely with men.

FEW persons ever found themselves for the first time in the presence of general Washington, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor did those emotions subside on a closer acquaintance; on the contrary, his person and deportment were such as rather tended to augment them. The hard service he had seen, the important and laborious off-

ces he had filled, gave a kind of austerity to his countenance, and a reserve to his manners : yet he was the kindest husband, the most humane master, the steadiest friend.

The whole range of history does not present to our view a character upon which we can dwell with such entire and unmixed admiration. The long life of general Washington is not stained by a single blot. He was indeed a man of such rare endowments, and such fortunate temperament, that every action he performed was equally exempted from the charge of vice or weakness.—Whatever he said or did, or wrote, was stamped with a striking and peculiar propriety. His qualities were so happily blended, and so nicely harmonised, that the result was a great and perfect whole. The powers of his mind, and the dispositions, of his heart, were admirably suited to each other. It was the union of the most consummate prudence with the most perfect moderation. His views, though large and liberal, were never extravagant : his virtues, though comprehensive and beneficent, were discriminating, judicious and practical.

Yet his character, though regular and uniform, possessed none of the littleness which may sometimes belong to these descriptions of men. It formed a majestic pile, the effect of which was not impaired, but improved by order and symmetry. There was nothing in it to dazzle by wildness, and surprise by eccentricity. It was of a higher species of moral beauty. It contained every thing great and elevated, but it had no false and tinsel ornament. It was not the model cried up by the fashion and circumstance : its excellence was adapted to the true and just moral taste, incapable of charge from the varying accidents of manners, of opinions and times.—General Washington is not the idol of a day, but the hero of ages !

Placed in circumstances of the most trying difficulty at the commencement of the American contest, he accepted that situation which was pre-eminent in danger and responsibility. His perseverence overcame every obstacle ; his moderation conciliated every opposition ; his genius supplied every resource ; his enlarged view could plan, revise, and improve

every branch of civil and military operation. He had the superior courage which can act or forbear to act, as true policy dictates, careless of the reproaches of ignorance, either in power or out of power. He knew how to conquer by waiting, in spite of obloquy, for the moment of victory; and he merited true praise by despising undeserved censure. In the most arduous moments of the contest, his prudent firmness proved the salvation of the cause which he supported.

As his elevation to the chief power was the unbiassed choice of his countrymen, his exercise of it was agreeable to the purity of its origin. As he had neither solicited nor usurped dominion, he had neither to contend with the opposition of rivals, nor the revenge of enemies. As his authority was undisputed, so it required no jealous precautions, no rigorous severity. His government was mild and gentle; it was beneficient and liberal; it was wise and just. His prudent administration consolidated and enlarged the dominion of an infant republic. In voluntarily resigning the magistracy which he had filled with such distinguished honor, he enjoyed the unequalled satisfaction of leaving to the state he had contributed to establish, the fruits of his wisdom and the example of his virtues.

It is some consolation, amidst the violence of ambition and the criminal thirst of power, of which so many instances occur around us, to find a character whom it is honorable to admire, and virtuous to imitate. A conqueror, for the freedom of his country! A legislator, for its security! A magistrate, for its happiness! His glories were never sullied by those excesses into which the highest qualities are apt to degenerate. With the greatest virtues he was exempt from the corresponding vices. He was a man in whom the elements were so mixed, that "nature might have stood up to all the world" and owned him as her work. His fame, bounded by no country, will be confined to no age. The character of general Washington, which his cotemporaries regret and admire, will be transmitted to posterity; and the memory of his virtues, while patriotism and virtue are held sacred among men, will remain undiminished.

Portrait of general GEORGE WASHINGTON. *By Marquis* CHASTELLEAUX.

THE marquis having arrived at general Washington's head-quarters, was introduced to the American Cincinnatus, of whom he speaks in the following elegant and animated language :

BRAVE without temerity—laborious without ambition—generous without prodigality—noble without pride—virtuous without severity—he seems always to have confined himself within those limits, where the virtues, by clothing themseleves in more lively, but more changeable and doubtful colors, may be mistaken for faults.—This is the seventh year that he has commanded the army, and that he has obeyed the congress. More need not be said, especially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this simple act. Let it be repeated that Conde was intrepid, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit, and Catinat disinterested. It is not thus that Washington will be characterised. It will be said of him, at the end of a long civil war, he had nothing with which he could reproach himself. If any thing can be more marvellous than such a character, it is the unanimity of the public suffrages in his favor. Soldier, magistrate, people, all love and admire him ; all speak of him in terms of tenderness and veneration. Does there then exist a virtue capable of restraining the injustice of mankind ; or, are glory and happiness too recently established in America, for envy to have deigned to pass the seas ?

IN speaking of this perfect whole, of which general Washington furnishes the idea, I have not excluded exterior form. His stature is noble and lofty ; he is well made and exactly proportioned ; his physiognomy mild and agreeable, but such as renders it impossible to speak particularly of any of his features, so that in quitting him, you have only the recollection of a fine face. He has neither a grave nor a familiar air ; his brow is sometimes marked with thought, but never with inquietude.—Inspiring respect, he inspires confidence, and his smile is always the smile of benevolence.

Sketch of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *from* BRISSOT'S *Travels in North America.*

THE general's goodness beams in his eyes. They have no longer that fire which his officers found in them when at the head of his army; but they brighten in conversation. In his countenance there are no striking features; hence it is difficult to catch a likeness of him, for few of his portraits resemble him. All his answers discover good sense, consummate prudence, and great diffidence of himself; but at the same time, an unalterable firmness in the part he has once embraced. His modesty cannot but be particularly astonishing to a Frenchman. He speaks of the American war, as if he had not been the conductor of it; and of his victories with an indifference with which no stranger could mention them. I never saw him grow warm, or depart from that coolness which characterises him, except when talking on the present state of America.—The divisions of his country rend his soul. He feels the necessity of rallying all the friends of liberty around a central point, and of giving energy to the government. To his country he is still ready to sacrifice that quiet which constitutes his happiness. Happiness, said he to me, is not in grandeur, is not in the bustle of life. This philosopher was so thoroughly convinced of the truth of this, that from the moment of his retreat, he broke off every political connexion, and renounced every place in the government; yet in spite of such a renunciation, of such disinterestedness, of such modesty, this astonishing man has enemies! He has been vilified in the newspapers; he has been accused of ambition, of intrigue, when all his life, when all America, can witness his disinterestedness, and the rectitude of his conduct: Virginia is perhaps the sole country where he has enemies; for no where else have I heard his name pronounced but with respect, mixed with affection and gratitude. You would think the Americans were speaking of their father. It would be wrong, perhaps, to compare Washington with the most celebrated warriors: but he is the model of a republican; displaying all the qualities, all the virtues of one.

Extract from an elegiac poëm, on the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON. *By* CHARLES CALDWELL, *A. M. M. D.*

AND is it so? Is Washington no more?
Fame blow a blast to startle every shore!
Let every shore the solemn note rebound,
Till universal nature catch the sound—
The awful sound! to announce that stroke of fate,
The death of all that's glorious, good and great!
Of all that kindred angels stoop'd to scan,
The brightest wonder of that wonder man!
And could not goodness, could not greatness save?
Nor human glory rescue from the grave?
Could not a nation's sighs a nation's prayers,
Procure for ONE a ceaseless round of years?

Hail, matchless mortal, heaven's distinguished care!
Epitome of virtues great and rare!
Resplendent model of majestic mind!
Where talents high their confluent lustre join'd!
Sure nature form'd thee of superior dust,
As Cæsar generous, and as Cato just!
A soul, in war's emergence form'd to rule,
As Cyrus provident, as Fabius cool!
When honor summon'd, as Achilles warm,
As Scipio promp, as Cincinnatus firm!
When danger frown'd, and battle shook the skies,
As Hector daring, as Ulysses wise!

Calm and serene amid the vollied storm,
Our hero smil'd at death in every form,
And still from heaviest clouds of hopeless fate,
Emerg'd and rose as Alexander great!
To rear the towering fabric of his fame,
He rifled all of Greek and Roman name;
And even, in war, imperial Albion's lord,
Bow'd to the splendors of his conquering sword!

Born with a mind untaught to shrink or yield,
In council deep, unfathom'd in the field,
In charge resistless, dangerous in defeat,
In victory clement, dreadful in retreat!
Cradled mid arms, a soldier from his birth,
He stood the awe and glory of the earth!

But, not alone in scenes where glory fir'd,
He mov'd no less in civil walks admir'd!
Though long a warrior, choice of human blood,
As Brutus noble, and as Titus good!
To all that form'd the hero of the age,
He join'd the patriot and the peaceful sage,
The statesman powerful, and the ruler just,
No less illustrious than the chief august;
And, to condense his characters in one,
The godlike father of his country shone!

Such was the man! let distant ages know,
For whom Columbia droops in weeds of woe!
Peerless in life!—Ye wondering realms attend!
His fame was brighten'd by his glorious end!
By pain unmov'd, magnanimous in death,
He prov'd the hero with his latest breath!
And shot eternal splendours through the gloom,
That shrouds, in night, the confines of the tomb!
His worth, increasing with his reverend days,
Had taught a nation virtue's radiant ways,
Then, greatly yielding life, without a sigh,
His last example taught them how to die!

Shade of immortal Warren hither bend!
Montgomery, Mercer, Lawrence, Green, attend!
Mid files of angels, rang'd on either side,
And forms angelic your celestial guide,
Conduct, in triumph, to the climes above,
The illustrious spirit of the chief you love!

Ye hostile chiefs on Europe's harrass'd shore,
Who fiercely fan, with banners dipt in gore,
The dreadful flame of war! revert your eyes,
Behold the death, Columbia's hero dies!
In life how mild, how firm, how just, how brave!
And lo! what glories issue from his grave!
What weeping millions o'er his ashes bend!
What bursts of woe his country's bosom rend!
What prayers, what eulogies ascend the sky,
What deathless monuments in embryo lye!

Ye emperors, kings, and civil powers august!
Whose bleeding armies agonize in dust,
Whose rifled subjects raise a general groan,
And cheerless realms mid deep oppression moan!
Whose breasts a thirst for martial fame inspires;
Whom love of wealth, of power, or conquest fires,
Ambition drags, in triumph, at her car,
While spurious glory dazzles from afar!
To your throng'd courts, my feeble voice I raise,
To you address expostulary lays!
Scan well our hero's life, his death admire,
And burn your bosoms with a kindred fire!
When dark oppression's clouds impend your land,
Like him, the avenging thunders in your hand,
Rush foremost, mid the fierce embattled hosts,
And hurl the bold invader from your coasts!
But when, the victory won, the conflict o'er,
Mild mercy's accents whisper round your shore,
Like him command the storm of war to cease,
The love inspire and rear the arts of peace!
Pluck from your brows the laurel wreaths entwin'd,
With radiant hand the blooming olive bind,
And let your swords, the glory of the brave,
To ploughshares turn, and golden harvests wave!
Like him, the fathers of your people prove,
Like him, expire amid your people's love!

Come sages! come, and with the sorrowing tear,
Bedew the pall that shrouds your idol's bier,
Ye statesmen, chiefs, and faithful patriots rise,
And sieze his mantle ere he reach the skies,
Ye virgins fair, and modest matrons come,
And strew, with flowrets fresh, your guardian's tomb,
With pearly sorrows bathe the hallowed ground,
And breathe the soul of plaintive music round!

Ye war-worn veterans, faithful to your chief,
Torn by remorseless pangs of manly grief,
Who, oft, the fierce conflicting ranks among,
Where carnage, leagu'd with terror swept along,
Crush'd the bold warrior, rent his bosom's core,
And lapt, with demon thirst, the streaming gore,
Where host with host, and man with man engag'd,
And all the tumult of the battle rag'd,
Have heard, with joy, his all-commanding word,
And seen the beamy terrors of his sword,
Have seen pale squadrons rally at his call,
And hostile legions struck with deep appal,
With slow and reverend step approach the grave,
That holds, enshrin'd, the relicts of the brave!
On bended knee, salute the sacred ground,
And let your warlike honors burst around!
Then, germs of olive, oak, and laurel bring,
And let them, mingling, o'er your hero spring!

Strike, nature! strike, with force, thy mighty bell,
And sound through all thy realms his funeral knell!

* * * *

Here let a statesman, there a reverend sage,
To mark and emulate his steps engage,
Columbia, widow'd count his virtues o'er,
Around his tomb her pearly sorrows pour,
And mild religion, of celestial mien,
Point to her patron's place, in realms unseen!
Then stamp in gold, the monument above,
The mournful tribute of a nation's love!

Extract from a poem, sacred to the memory of general GEORGE WASHINGTON. *By* RICHARD ALSOP.

EXALTED chief—in thy superior mind
What vast resourse, what various talents join'd!
Temper'd with social virtue's milder rays,
There patriot worth diffus'd a purer blaze:
Form'd to command respect, esteem inspire,
Midst statesmen grave, or midst the social choir,
With equal skill the sword or pen to wield,
In council great, unequall'd in the field,
Mid glittering courts or rural walks to please,
Polite with grandeur, dignified with ease;
Before the splendors of thy high renown
How fade the glow-worm lustres of a crown;
How sink diminish'd in that radiance lost
The glare of conquest, and of power the boast.
Let Greece her Alexander's deeds proclaim,
Or Cæsar's triumphs gild the Roman name,
Stripp'd of the dazzling glare around them cast,
Shrinks at their crimes humanity aghast;
With equal claim to honor's glorious meed
See Attila his course of havoc lead!
O'er Asia's realms, in one vast ruin hurl'd,
See furious Zingis' bloody flag unfurl'd.
On base far-different from the conqueror's claim
Rests the unsullied column of thy fame;
His on the woes of millions proudly bas'd,
With blood cemented and with tears defac'd;
Thine on a nation's welfare fix'd sublime,
By freedom strengthen'd and rever'd by time.
He, as the comet, whose portentous light
Spreads baleful splendor o'er the glooms of night,
With chill amazement fills the startled breast,
While storms and earthquakes dire its course attest,
And nature trembles, lest, in chaos hurl'd,
Should sink the tott'ring fabric of the world.
Thou, like the sun, whose kind propitious ray
Opes the glad morn and lights the fields of day,

Dispels the wintry storm, the chilling rain,
With rich abundance clothes the smiling plain,
Gives all creation to rejoice around,
And life and light extends o'er nature's utmost bound.

Though shone thy life a model bright of praise,
Not less the example bright thy death pourtrays.
When, plung'd in deepest woe, around thy bed,
Each eye was fix'd, despairing sunk each head,
While nature struggled with severest pain,
And scarce could life's last lingering powers retain:
In that dread moment, awfully serene,
No trace of suffering mark'd thy placid mien,
No groan, no murmuring plaint escap'd thy tongue,
No low'ring shadows on thy brow were hung;
But calm in christian hope, undamp'd with fear,
Thou saw'st the high reward of virtue near,
On that bright meed in surest trust repos'd
As thy firm hand thine eyes expiring clos'd
Pleas'd, to the will of heaven resign'd thy breath,
And smil'd as nature's struggles clos'd in death.

Ill-fated country—lo, of aid bereft,
Thy spear is broken and thy buckler cleft!
What arm shall now a firm support bestow,
And shield thee harmless from the threat'ning foe;
Who, mid the storm, with fearless hand shall guide
Thy course in safety o'er the troubled tide?
See faction lift on high his hateful head,
O'er his dark brow unwonted smiles are spread,
His lurid eye malignant triumph glares,
And joy infernal every feature wears!
For now no more that piercing eye he fears,
No more that voice, with terror thrill'd, he hears;
That eye, from whose bright beam he shrunk dismay'd,
And veil'd his treasons in the midnight shade;
That fateful voice which levell'd in the dust
His plots nefarious, and his high-rais'd trust;
For, lo, in slumbers of the grave repos'd,
Hush'd is that voice, that eye in darkness clos'd!

Ye youth, Columbia's pride, to whom has heaven
In sacred trust her future welfare given ;
On whom devolves the high the important charge ;
Her rights to guard, her happiness enlarge ;
Fix'd to whose course immutably remains
Her bliss or woe, her liberty or chains !
O let your PATRIOT FATHER's precepts rest
Deep in your hearts indelibly imprest !
Let his example bright your souls inspire,
To virtue kindle and to glory fire ;
Teach you the yells of faction to despise,
Unmasque his arts and strip his thin disguise ;
To spurn, with generous pride and mark'd disgrace,
The attempts insidious of a foreign race,
To spread their baleful influence o'er your land
Direct its councils and its strength command,
What means soe'er their end to gain they try,
Or force employ, or artifice apply,
If with the tiger's glare they mark the prey,
Or crafty serpent's subtleties display.
Nor e'er seduc'd let discord's fiends abhorr'd
Tempt you to draw the parricidal sword,
Your country's breast to wound with mortal blow,
And lay the bulwark of her safety low ;
But, friends to order, firm, in union'd band,
Around your government collected stand,
That edifice on equal freedom rear'd,
By reason sanction'd, and by truth rever'd.
Let dire disunion, party rage expire,
And one great object all your bosoms fire,
Bid local hate and jealousy subside,
The offspring mean of ignorance and pride ;
And teach the world Columbia's sons alone
One glorious object of contention own,
By virtuous acts, disinterested zeal,
And fond devotion to their country's weal,
With unremitting ardor to pursue
The path that Washington has op'd to view.

Tribute, by Mr. Paine, of Massachusetts.

OH Washington! thou hero, patriot, sage!
Friend of all climes, and pride of every age!
Were thine the laurels, every soil could raise,
The mighty harvest were penurious praise.
Well may our realms, thy fabian wisdom boast;
Thy prudence sav'd, what bravery had lost.
Yet e'er hadst thou, by heaven's severer fates,
Like Sparta's hero at the Grecian straits,
Been doom'd to meet in arms, a world of foes,
Whom skill could not defeat, nor walls oppose,
Then had thy breast, by danger ne'er subdued,
The mighty buckler of thy country stood;
Proud of its wounds, each piercing spear would bless,
Which left Columbia's foes one javelin less;
Nor felt one pang—but, in the glorious deed,
Thy little band of heroes too, must bleed;
Nor throbb'd one fear—but, that some poison'd dart
Thy breast might pass, and reach thy Country's heart!

[*From a London Newspaper.*]

GREAT without pomp, without ambition brave,
Proud, not to conquer fellow-men, but save;
Friend to the weak, a foe to none but those
Who plan their greatness on their brethren's woes;
Aw'd by no titles—undefil'd by lust—
Free without faction, obstinately just;
Too wise to learn from Machiavel's school,
That truth and perfidy by turns should rule;
Warm'd by religion's sacred, genuine ray,
That points to future bliss th' unerring way;
Yet ne'er control'd by superstition's laws,
That worst of tyrants in the noblest cause.

On the death of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, *from a late London paper.*

LAMENTED chief, at thy distinguish'd deeds,
The world shall gaze with wonder and applause;
While on fair hist'ry's page the patriot reads
Thy matchless valor in thy country's cause.

Yes, it was thine, amid destructive war,
To shield it nobly from oppression's chain;
By justice arm'd to brave each threat'ning jar,
Assert its freedom, and its rights maintain.

Much honored hero, statesman, husband, friend,
A gen'rous nation's grateful tears are thine;
E'en unborn ages shall thy worth commend,
And never-fading laurels deck thy shrine.

Illustrious warrior! on the immortal base,
By freedom rear'd, thy envied name shall stand;
And fame, by truth inspir'd, shall fondly trace
Thee, *pride and guardian of thy native land.*

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APPENDIX.

(No. I.)

CIRCULAR LETTER, ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE SEVERAL STATES, BY HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE WASHINGTON, ON HIS RESIGNING THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY, AND RETIRING FROM PUBLIC BUSINESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS,

SIR, *NEWBURGH, June* 18, 1783.

THE great object, for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life, in a state of undisturbed repose; but, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States, to take my leave of your excellency as a public character, and to give my final blessing to that country, in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights, and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

IMPRESSED with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of

the contest, and the favorable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing; this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political or moral point of light.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity: Here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment; but heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been favored with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than a recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our republic assumed its rank among the nations.—The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period: Researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labors of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for us, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government. The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment; and, above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into ex-

istence as a nation, and if their citizens ſhould not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

Such is our ſituation, and ſuch are our proſpects: but notwithſtanding the cup of bleſſing is thus reached out to us, notwithſtanding happiness is ours, if we have a diſpoſition to ſeize the occaſion, and make it our own, yet it appears to me, there is an option ſtill left to the United States of America, whether they will be reſpectable and proſperous, or contemptible and miſerable as a nation; this is the time of their political probation; this is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them; this is the time to eſtabliſh or ruin their national character for ever; this is the favorable moment to give ſuch a tone to the federal government, as will enable it to anſwer the ends of its inſtitution; or, this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and expoſing us to become the ſport of European politics, which may play one ſtate againſt another, to prevent their growing importance, and to ſerve their own intereſted purpoſes. For, according to the ſyſtem of policy the ſtates ſhall adopt at this moment, they will ſtand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapſe, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution muſt ultimately be conſidered as a bleſſing or a curſe;—a bleſſing or a curſe, not to the preſent age alone, for with our fate will the deſtiny of unborn millions be involved.

With this conviction of the importance of the preſent criſis, ſilence in me would be a crime; I will therefore ſpeak to your excellency the language of freedom and ſincerity, without diſguiſe. I am aware, however, thoſe who differ from me in political ſentiments may, perhaps, remark, I am ſtepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may poſſibly aſcribe to arrogance or oſtentation, what I know is alone the reſult of the pureſt intention; but the rectitude of my own heart, which diſdains ſuch unworthy motives; the part I have hitherto acted in life, the determination I have formed of not taking any ſhare in public buſineſs hereafter; the ardent deſire I feel, and ſhall continue to manifeſt, of quietly enjoying in private life, after

all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government, will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering with so little reserve the opinions contained in this address.

THERE are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an independent power.

1st. AN indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

2dly. A SACRED regard to public justice.

3dly. THE adoption of a proper peace establishment. And,

4thly. THE prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

THESE are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported.—Liberty is the basis—and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment, which can be inflicted by his injured country.

ON the three first articles I will make a few observations; leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

UNDER the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the states to delegate a larger proportion

of power to congress, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions:—That unless the states will suffer congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion. That it is indispensible to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged, somewhere, a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration.

That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state with the late proposals and demands of congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue—that whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly. And, lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the states to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on a dissolution of the union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature, or we may find by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme

of tyranny; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, congress have, in their late address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that, in my opinion, no real friend to the honor and independency of America, can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honorable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised; and that, if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the states.

The ability of the country to discharge the debts, which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. And inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting; the path of our duty is plain before us; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then, as a nation, be just; let us fulfil the public contracts which congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time let an attention to the chearful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labors: every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation, and without danger.

In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, That we should be completely satisfied, if at the expence of one-half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions? Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain in debt for the defence of his own person and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honor and of gratitude? In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures the aggravated vengeance of heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the states; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies and produce all those evils which are now happily removed; congress, who have in all their transactions shewn a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man! and that state alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious councils, will be responsible for all the consequences.

For my own part, conscious of having acted, while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country; having in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not wishing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to

your excellency the enclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by congress, to the officers of the army; from these communications, my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons which induced me, at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudices and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which I am informed has, in some instances, prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded for ever: that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed. It was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the service. It was a part of their hire; I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency; it is therefore more than a common debt; it is a debt of honor; it can never be considered as a pension, or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

With regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines, the soldiers have perhaps generally had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation; in others, if, besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of clothing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put

upon the same footing) we take into the estimate, the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers. Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause. But neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition, will, in any manner, affect, much less militate against, the act of congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

Before I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual pension for life: their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision, need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf: nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance, can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessaries of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your state, to the warmest patronage of your excellency and your legislature.

It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic—As there can be little doubt but congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States,

in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the Union upon a regular and respectable footing. If this should be the case, I should beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility. It is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent, should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expence, and confusion, which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of the address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology. It is, however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention, consonant to the immutable rules of justice; calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, aud founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had presbribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, than in less time, and with much less expence than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular states: that the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a

partial compliance with the requisitions of congress, in some of the states, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expences of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering, than that which I have had the honor to command. But while I mention those things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparallelled exertions of the individual states, on many interesting occasions.

I HAVE thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known, before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me. The task is now accomplished; I now bid adieu to your excellency, as the chief magistrate of your state; at the same time, I bid a last farewel to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

IT remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

I NOW make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another; for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large, and particularly

for their brethren who have served in the field; and, finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteristics of the divine author of our blessed religion; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I have the honor to be,
with much esteem and respect,
Sir,
your excellency's most obedient,
and most humble servant,

G°: WASHINGTON.

(No. II.)

FAREWELL ADDRESS OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

ROCKY-HILL, near Princeton,
November 2, 1783.

THE United States in congress assembled, after giving the most honorable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent and faithful service, having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow; which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers, for the information and government of all concerned, it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States (however widely

dispersed individuals who compose them may be) and to bid them an affectionate—a long farewel.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight view of the past:—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct which in his opinion ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The signal interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving; while the unparallelled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigors of an inclement season: nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs.

Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstance which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness—events which have seldom if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disci-

plined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description: and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labors? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence.—To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west, will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of congress, and the payment of its just debts; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in re-commencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that with strong attachment to the union, they should carry with them into civil society the most concili-

ating dispositions, and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit, yet, let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct. Let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States, has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause. Let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence; and let a consciousness of their atchievements and fame, still excite the men who composed them to honorable actions, under the persuasion that the private virtues of economy, prudence and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valor, perseverance and enterprize were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union encreased, the honor, dignity and justice of the nation would be lost forever: yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavors to those of his worthy fellow-citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change the military character into that of the citizen, but that steady, decent tenor of behavior, which has generally distinguished not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and armies through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences; and while he congratu-

lates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their councils on many interesting occasions, as for their ardor in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted. To the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the other officers, for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution—to the staff for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience and suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To the various branches of the army, the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship.—He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done.

And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command, he can only again offer in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favors, both here and hereafter attend those who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed forever.

(No. III.)

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, ANNOUNCING HIS INTENTION OF RETIRING FROM PUBLIC LIFE.

Friends and fellow-citizens,

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I BEG you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation will imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction, that the step is compatible with both.

THE acceptance of, and continuance hitherto, in the office to which your suffrages has twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the una-

nimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I REJOICE that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety: and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

THE impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion.—In the discharge of this trust I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable.—Not unconscious, in the out-set, of the inferiority of any qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the encreasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

IN looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious—vicis-

situdes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes, that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude, for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pil-

lar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth. As this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprize and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The south in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The east, in like intercourse with the west, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensible outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parties combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid

the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty: In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear you to the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—northern and southern—atlantic and western: whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other, those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negociation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded

were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great-Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensible. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendments, has a just claim to your confidence and your support.—Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish a government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with

the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprizing minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you speedily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consist-

ent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensible. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprizes of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I HAVE already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

THIS spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

THE alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

WITHOUT looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms: kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion to mitigate and assauge it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another.—The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositaries, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments antient and modern: some of them in our country and under our

own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers, be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensible supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.—Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.—Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, and sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interests exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which are apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions: by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, some-

times even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties, in the ordinary

vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation, invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consult-

ing the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may please itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently

beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward and trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

United States, *Sept.* 17, 1796.

(No. IV.)

A letter from his excellency George Washington, to the president of the united states, on accepting the appointment of commander in chief of the armies of the united states.

Mount Vernon, July 13, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honor, on the evening of the 11th instant, to receive from the hand of the secretary of war, your favor of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed me "lieutenant-general and commander in chief of all the armies raised or to be raised for the service of the United States."

I CANNOT express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication ; at the same time I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen upon a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

You know, Sir, what calculation I had made relative to the probable course of events, on my retiring from office, and the determination I had consoled myself with, of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode: you will therefore be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion that would pledge me, at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

IT was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions. The conduct of the directory of France towards our country ; their insidious hostility to its government ; their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it ; the evident tendency of their acts and those of their agents to countenance and invigorate opposition ; their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations ; their war upon our defenceless commerce ; their treatment of our ministers of peace ; and their demands, amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me corresponding sentiments with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration.—They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

SATISFIED, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavored to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to heaven for the justice of our cause ; and may confidently trust the

final result to that kind Providence who has heretofore, and so often, signally favored the people of these United States.

THINKING in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander in chief of the armies of the United States; with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensible by the urgency of circumstances.

IN making this reservation, I beg it to be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public; or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expence.

THE secretary of war being anxious to return to the seat of government, I have detained him no longer than was necessary to a full communication upon the several points he had in charge.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

G°: WASHINGTON.

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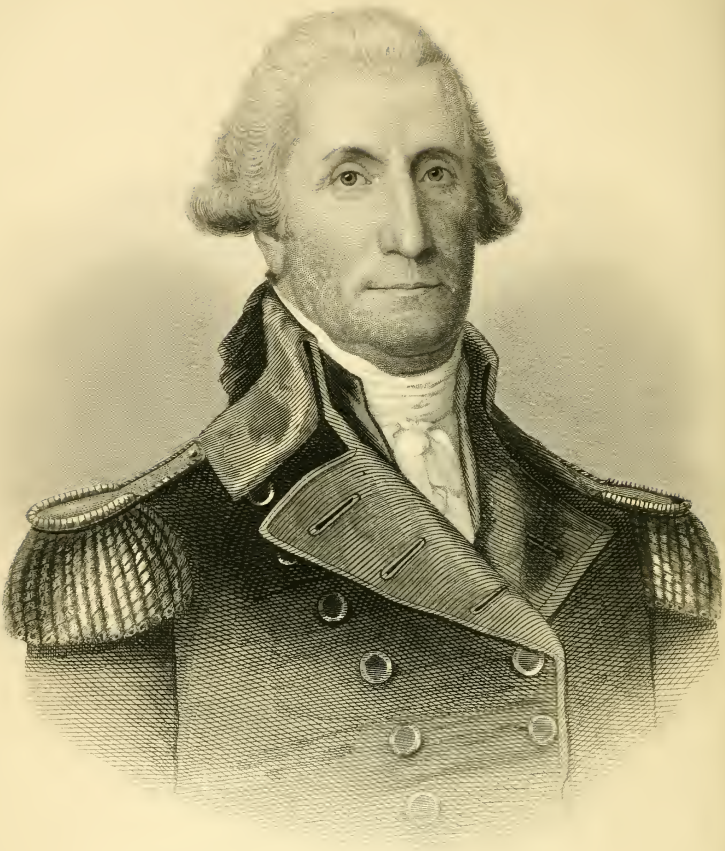


Geo. Washington

(No. V.)

GEN. WASHINGTON'S WILL.

VIRGINIA, FAIRFAX, ss.

I, GEORGE DENEALE, clerk of Fairfax county court, do certify, That the subsequent copy of the last will and testament of GEORGE WASHINGTON, deceased, late president of the United States of America, with the schedule annexed, is a true copy *from the original recorded in my office.*

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 23d day of January, 1800.

GEO. DENEALE, *C. F. C.*

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

I GEORGE WASHINGTON, of Mount Vernon, a citizen of the United States, and lately president of the same, Do make, ordain and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand, and every page thereof subscribed with my name*, to be my LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT, revoking all others.

Imprimus.—All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid; and the legacies herein after bequeathed, are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Item.—To my dearly beloved wife, *Martha Washington*, I give and bequeath the use, profit and benefit of my whole estate,

* *In the original manuscript, GEORGE WASHINGTON'S name is written at the bottom of every page.*

real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter. My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated on Pitt and Cameron streets, I give to her and her heirs for ever; as I also do my houshold and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

Item.—Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire, that all the slaves which I hold in *my own right*, shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences to the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor, it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas among those who will receive freedom according to this devise, there may be some who, from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of 25 years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound, are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivors

of them, to see that *this* clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provision made by individuals.—And, to my mulatto man *William* (calling himself *William Lee,)* I give immediate freedom, or if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so; in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of 30 dollars during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chuses the latter alternative; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first; and this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the revolutionary war.

Item.—To the trustees (governors, or by whatsoever other name they may be designated) of the academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in trust, 4000 dollars, or in other words, 20 of the shares which I hold in the bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a free school, established at, and annexed to, the said academy, for the purpose of educating orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons, as are unable to accomplish it with their own means, and who, in the judgment of the trustees of the said seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid 20 shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity, the dividends only of which are to be drawn for, and applied by the said trustees, for the time being, for the uses above mentioned; the stock to remain entire and untouched, unless indications of failure of the said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof, should render a removal of this fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby

the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above. And, to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these 20 shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to, the 1000l. given by a missive letter some years ago, in consequence whereof, an annuity of 50l. has since been paid towards the support of this institution.

Item.—Whereas by a law of the commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the legislature thereof was pleased (as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public during the revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation under legislative patronage) to present me with 100 shares of 100 dollars each, in the incorporated company established for the purpose of extending the navigation of *James river* from the tide-water to the mountains; and also with 50 shares of 100l. sterling each in the corporation of another company likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the river *Potowmac* from the tide-water to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, although the offer was highly honorable and grateful to my feelings, was refused as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and had never departed from—namely, not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great-Britain for its rights, and because I had evaded similar propositions from other states in the Union: Adding to this refusal, however, an intimation, that, if it should be the pleasure of the legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to *public uses*, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to, in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honorable manner—I proceed, after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare, That as it has always been a source of serious regret with me, to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purposes of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own, contracting, too frequently,

not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but *principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind*, which, thereafter, are rarely overcome. For these reasons, it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised, on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and state prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation) my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure, than the establishment of a university in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof might be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite literature in the arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government; and, as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment, by associating with each other, and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves, in a proper degree, from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country.—Under these impressions, so fully dilated,

Item.—I give and bequeath, in perpetuity, the 50 shares which I hold in the Potowmac company (under the aforesaid acts of the legislature of Virginia) towards the endowment of a university, to be established within the limits of the district of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support, my further will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom, shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of congress, provided that ho-

norable body should patronize the measure; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such stock are to be vested in more stock, and so on, until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained, of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by legislative authority, or from any other source.

Item.—The hundred shares which I hold in the James river company, I have given, and now confirm, in perpetuity, to and for the use and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in the county of Rockbridge, in the commonwealth of Virginia.

Item.—I release, exonerate, and discharge, the estate of my deceased brother, *Samuel Washington*, from the payment of the money which is due to me for the land I sold to Philip Pendleton (lying in the county of Berkeley,) who assigned the same to him, the said *Samuel*, who, by agreement, was to pay me therefor: And whereas by some contract (the purport of which was never communicated to me) between the said *Samuel* and his son *Thornton Washington*, the latter became possessed of the aforesaid land, without any conveyance having passed from me, either to the said *Pendleton*, the said *Samuel*, or the said *Thornton*, and without any consideration having been made, by which neglect, neither the legal nor equitable title has been alienated, it rests therefore with me, to declare my intentions concerning the premises; and these are, to give and bequeath the said land to whomsoever the said *Thornton Washington* (who is also dead) devised the same, or to his heirs for ever, if he died intestate, exonerating the estate of the said *Thornton*, equally with that of the said *Samuel*, from payment of the purchase money, which, with interest, agreeably to the original contract with the said *Pendleton*, would amount to more than 1000l. And whereas two other sons of my said deceased brother, *Samuel*, namely, *George Steptoe Washington* and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, were, by the decease of those to whose care they were committed, brought under my protection, and, in consequence, have occasioned advances on my part for their education at college and other schools, and for their board,

clothing and other incidental expences, to the amount of near 5000 dollars, over and above the sums furnished by their estate; which sum it may be inconvenient for them or their father's estate to refund—I do, for these reasons, acquit them and the said estate from the payment thereof, my intention being, that all accounts between them and me, and their father's estate and me, shall stand balanced.

Item.—The balance due to me from the estate of *Bartholomew Dandridge*, deceased (my wife's brother) and which amounted, on the first day of October 1795, to 425l. (as will appear by an account rendered by his deceased son, *John Dandridge*, who was the acting executor of his father's will) I release and acquit from the payment thereof. And the negroes (then 33 in number) formerly belonging to the said estate, who were taken in execution, sold, and purchased in on my account, in the year ——, and ever since have remained in the possession and to the use of *Mary*, widow of the said *Barth. Dandridge*, with their increase, it is my will and desire, shall continue and be in her possession, without paying hire, or making compensation for the same, for the time past or to come, during her natural life; at the expiration of which, I direct, that all of them who are 40 years old and upwards, shall receive their freedom; all under that age and above 16, shall serve seven years, and no longer; and all under 16 years shall serve until they are 25 years of age, and then be free. And to avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of these negroes, they are to be taken into the court of the county in which they reside, and the judgment thereof, in this relation, shall be final, and record thereof made, which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same. And I further direct, that the heirs of the said *Barth. Dandridge.* shall, equally, share the benefits arising from the services of the said negroes, according to the tenor of this devise, upon the decease of their mother.

Item.—If *Charles Carter*, who intermarried with my niece *Betty Lewis*, is not sufficiently secured in the title to the lots he had of me in the town of Fredericksburg, it is my will and

desire, tha my executors shall make such conveyances of them as the law requires to render it perfect.

Item.—To my nephew, *William Augustine Washington*, and his heirs (if he should conceive them to be objects worth prosecuting) a lot in the town of Manchester (opposite to Richmond) No. 265, drawn on my sole account, and also the tenth of 1 or 200 acre lots, and two or three half-acre lots, in the city and vicinity of Richmond, drawn in partnership with nine others, all in the lottery of the deceased William Bird, are given; as is also a lot which I purchased of John Hood, conveyed by William Willie and Sam. Gordon, trustees of the said John Hood, numbered 139, in the town of Edinburgh, in the county of Prince George, state of Virginia.

Item.—To my nephew *Bushrod Washington*, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country; I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and, at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind.

Item.—Having sold lands which I possessed in the state of Pennsylvania, and part of a tract held in equal right with George Clinton, late governor of New-York; my share of land and interest in the Great Dismal Swamp, and a tract of land which I owned in the county of Gloucester—withholding the legal titles thereto, until the consideration money should be paid—and having moreover leased, and conditionally sold (as will appear by the tenor of the said leases) all my lands upon the Great Kenhawa, and a tract upon Difficult Run in the county of Loudon, it is my will and direction, that whensoever the contracts are fully and respectively complied with, according to the spirit, true intent and meaning thereof, on the part of the purchasers, their heirs or assigns, that then, and in that case, conveyances are to be made, agreeable to the terms of the said contracts, and the money arising therefrom, when paid, to be vested in bank stock; the dividends whereof, as of that also which is

already vested therein, is to inure to my said wife during her life, but the stock itself is to remain and be subject to the general distribution hereafter directed.

Item.—To the *earl of Buchan* I re-commit "the box made of the oak that sheltered the brave Sir *William Wallace* after the battle of Falkirk," presented to me by his lordship in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request "to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me."—Whether easy or not, to select THE MAN who might comport with his lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmith's company of Edinburg, who presented it to him, and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me—I do give and bequeath the same to his lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honor of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favorable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

Item.—To my brother *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath the gold-headed cane left me by Dr. Franklin, in his will. I add nothing to it, because of the ample provision I have made for his issue. To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, *Lawrence Washington* and *Robert Washington*, of Chotanct, I give my other two gold-headed canes, having my arms engraved on them; and to each (as they will be useful where they live) I leave one of the spy glasses, which constituted part of my equipage during the late war. To my compatriot in arms and old and intimate friend, Dr. *Craik*, I give my bureau, or, as the cabinet-makers call it, *tambour secretary*, and the circular chair, an appendage of my study. To Dr. *David Stewart*, I give my large shaving and dressing table, and my telescope. To the reverend, now *Bryan Lord Fairfax*, I give a Bible in three large folio volumes, with notes, presented to me by the Rt. Rev. *Thomas Wilson*, bishop of Sodor and

Man. To general *De la Fayette*, I give a pair of finely wrought steel pistols, taken from the enemy in the revolutionary war. To my sisters-in-law, *Hannah Washington* and *Mildred Washington*—to my friends *Eleanor Stuart*, *Hannah Washington*, of Fairfield, and *Elizabeth Washington*, of Hayfield, I give, each, a mourning ring of the value of 100 dollars. These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as mementoes of my esteem and regard. To *Tobias Lear*, I give the use of the farm which he now holds, in virtue of a lease from me to him and his deceased wife (for and during their natural lives) free from rent during his life; at the expiration of which, it is to be disposed of as is hereinafter directed. To *Sally B. Haynie* (a distant relation of mine) I give and bequeath 300 dollars. To *Sarah Green*, daughter of the deceased *Thomas Bishop*, and to *Ann Walker*, daughter of *John Alton*, also deceased, I give each 100 dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me, each of whom having lived nearly 40 years in my family. To each of my nephews, *William Augustine Washington*, *George Lewis*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, and *Samuel Washington*, I give one of the swords, or cutteaux, of which I may die possessed; and they are to chuse in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction, not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and, in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

And now, having gone through these specific devises, with explanations for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribution of the more important parts of my estate, in manner following—

First.—To my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, and his heirs, (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father, while we were bachelors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services in the former war between Great Britain and France, that if I should fall therein, Mount Vernon, then less extensive in domain than at

present, should become his property) I give and bequeath all that part thereof which is comprehended within the following limits, viz. Beginning at the ford of Dogue Run near my mill, and extending along the road, and bounded thereby, as it now goes and ever has gone since my recollection of it, to the ford of Little Hunting creek, at the Gum spring, until it comes to a knowl opposite to an old road which formerly passed through the lowerfield of Muddy-hole farm, at which, on the north side of the said road, are three red or Spanish oaks marked as a corner, and a stone placed—thence by a line of trees to be marked rectangular, to the back line or outer boundary of the tract between Thomas Mason and myself—thence with that line easterly (now double ditching, with a post and rail fence thereon) to the run of Little Huning creek—thence with that run, which is the boundary between the lands of the late H. Peake and me, to the tide-water of the said creek—thence by that water to Potowmac river—thence with the river to the mouth of Dogue creek—and thence with the said Dogue creek to the place of beginning at the aforesaid ford: containing upwards of 4000 acres, be the same more or less, together with the mansion house and all other building and improvements thereon.

Second.—In consideration of the consanguinity between them and my wife, being as nearly related to her as to myself, as on account of the affection I had for, and the obligation I was under to, their father, when living, who, from his youth, had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late revolution, afterwards devoting his time to the superintendance of my private concerns for many years, whilst my public employments rendered it impracticable for me to do it myself, thereby affording me essential services, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful—For these reasons, I say, I give and bequeath to *George Fayette Washington* and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, and their heirs, my estate east of Little Hunting creek, lying on the river Potowmac, including the farm of 360 acres, leased to *Tobias Lear*, as noticed before, and containing in the whole, by deed, two thousand and twenty-seven acres, be it more or less; which said estate, it is my will and desire, should

be equitably and advantageously divided between them, according to quantity, quality and other circumstances, when the youngest shall have arrived at the age of 21 years, by three judicious and disinterested men; one to be chosen by each of the brothers, and the third by these two. In the mean time, if the termination of my wife's interest therein should have ceased, the profits arising therefrom are to be applied for their joint uses and benefit.

Third.—And whereas it has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased, to consider the grandchildren of my wife, in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them, more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy—namely, *Eleanor Park Custis*, and *George Washington Park Custis*. And whereas the former of these hath lately intermarried with *Lawrence Lewis*, a son of my deceased sister, *Betty Lewis*, by which union the inducement to provide for them both has been increased; wherefore I give and bequeath to the said *Lawrence Lewis* and *Eleanor Park Lewis*, his wife, and their heirs, the residue of my Mount Vernon estate, not already devised to my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, comprehended within the following description, viz. All the land north of the road leading from the ford of Dogue run to the Gum spring, as described in the devise of the other part of the tract to *Bushrod Washington*, until it comes to the stone and three red or Spanish oaks on the knowl; thence with the rectangular line to the back line (between Mr. Mason and me) thence with that line westerly along the new double ditch to Dogue run by the tumbling dam of my mill; thence with the said run to the ford afore-mentioned; to which I add all the land I possess west of the said Dogue run and Dogue creek, bounded easterly and southerly thereby; together with the mill, distillery and all other houses and improvements on the premises; making together about 2000 acres, be it more or less.

Fourth.—Actuated by the principle already mentioned, I give and bequeath to *George Washington Park Custis*, the grandson of my wife, and my ward, and to his heirs, the tract I hold on

Four Mile Run, in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing 1,200 acres, more or less, and my entire square, No. 21, in the city of Washington.

Fifth.—All the rest and residue of my estate, real and personal, not disposed of in manner aforesaid, in whatsoever consisting, wheresoever lying, and wheresoever found, (a schedule of which, as far as is recollected, with a reasonable estimate of its value, is hereunto annexed) I desire may be sold by my executors, at such times, in such manner, and on such credits (if an equal, valid and satisfactory distribution of the specific property cannot be made without) as in their judgment shall be most conducive to the interest of the parties concerned, and the monies arising therefrom to be divided into 23 equal parts, and applied as follows, viz. To *William Augustine Washington*, *Elizabeth Spotswood*, *Jane Thornton*, and the heirs of *Ann Ashton*, son and daughters of my deceased brother *Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath four parts, that is, one part to each of them: To *Fielding Lewis*, *George Lewis*, *Robert Lewis*, *Howell Lewis*, and *Betty Carter*, sons and daughter of my deceased sister *Betty Lewis*, I give and bequeath five other parts, one to each of them: To *George Steptoe Washington*, *Lawrence A. Washington*, *Harriot Parks*, and the heirs of *Thornton Washington*, sons and daughter of my deceased brother *Samuel Washington*, I give and bequeath the other four parts, one part to each of them: To *Corbin Washington*, and the heirs of *Jane Washington*, son and daughter of my deceased brother *John A. Washington*, I give and bequeath two parts, one part to each of them: To *Samuel Washington*, *Frances Ball*, and *Mildred Hammond*, son and daughters of my brother *Cha. Washington*, I give and bequeath three parts, one part to each of them; and to *Geo. F. Washington*, *Cha. Aug. Washington*, and *Maria Washington*, sons and daughter of my deceased nephew, *Geo. A. Washington*, I give one other part, that is, to each a third of that part: To *Eliz. Park Law*, *Martha Park Peter*, and *Eleanor Park Lewis*, I give and bequeath three other parts, that is, a part to each of them: And, to my nephews, *Bushrod Washington* and *Law Lewis*, and to my ward, the grandson of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part, that is, a

third thereof to each of them. And if it should so happen, that any of the persons whose names are here enumerated (unknown to me) should now be dead, or should die before me, that in either of these cases, the heirs of such deceased persons shall, notwithstanding, derive all the benefits of the bequest, in the same manner as if he or she was actually living at the time. And, by way of advice, I recommend to my executors not to be precipitate in disposing of the landed property (therein directed to be sold) if from temporary causes the sale thereof should be dull; experience having fully evinced, that the price of land, especially above the falls of the rivers and on the western waters, has been progressively rising and cannot be long checked in its increasing value. And I particularly recommend it to such of the legatees (under this clause of my will) as can make it convenient, to take each a share of my stock in the Potowmac company, in preference to the amount of what it might sell for—being thoroughly convinced myself, that no uses to which the money can be applied, will be so productive as the tolls arising from this navigation when in full operation (and this from the nature of things it must be ere long) and more especially if that of the Shenandoah is added thereto.

The family vault at *Mount Vernon*, requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard inclosure, on the ground which is marked out—in which my remains, with those of my deceased relations (now in the old vault) and such others of my family as may chuse to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire, that my corps may be interred in a private manner, withoue parade or funeral oration.

Lastly.—I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife *Martha Washington*, my nephews *William Augustine Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Samuel Washington*, and *Lawrence Lewis*, and my ward *George Washington Park Custis* (when he shall have arrived at the age of 20 years) executrix and executors of this my WILL AND TESTAMENT—in the construction of which, it will readily be perceived, that

no professional character has been consulted, or has had any agency in the draught; and, that although it has occupied many of my leisure hours to digest, and to throw it into its present form, it may, notwithstanding, appear crude and incorrect—but having endeavored to be plain and explicit in all the devises, even at the expence of prolixity, perhaps of tautology, I hope and trust, that no disputes will arise concerning them; but if, contrary to expectation, the case should be otherwise from the want of legal expression, or the usual technical terms, or because too much or too little has been said on any of the devises to be consonant with law, my will and direction expressly is, that all disputes (if unhappily any should arise) shall be decided by three impartial and intelligent men, known for their probity and good understanding—two to be chosen by the disputants, each having the choice of one, and the third by those two—which three men thus chosen shall, unfettered by law or legal constructions, declare the sense of the testator's intentions; and such decision is, to all intents and purposes, to be as binding on the parties as if it had been given in the supreme court of the United States.

In witness of all and each of the things herein contained, I have set my hand and seal, this ninth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety,, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-fourth.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* It appears the testator omitted the word *nine*.

SCHEDULE

Of property comprehended in the foregoing WILL, *directed to be sold, and some of it conditionally is sold—with descriptive and explanatory notes thereto.*

IN VIRGINIA.

	Acres.	*Price.*	*Dollars.*
Loudon co. Difficult Run,	300		6,666*a*
Loudon and Faquier,			
Ashby's Bent,	2,481	10*d.*	24,810 } *b*
Chattins Run,	885	8	7,080 }
Berkley, S. fork of Bouliskin,	1,600		
Head of Evan's m.	453		
In Wormley's line,	183		
	2,236	20	44,720*c*
Frederick, bo't from Mercer,	571	20	11,420*d*
Hampshire, on Potowmac river, above B.	240	15	3,600*e*
Gloucester, on North river,	400	*about*	8,600*f*
Nansemond, near Suffolk, one-third of 1,119 acres,	373	8	2,984*g*
Great Dismal Swamp, my dividend thereof,		*about*	20,000*h*
Ohio river, Round Bottom,	587		
Little Kenhawa,	2,314		
Sixteen miles lower down,	2,448		
Opposite Big Bent,	4,395		
	9,744	*Dollars.* 10	97,440*i*

GREAT KENHAWA.

Near the north-west,	10,180	
East side above,	7,276	
Mouth of Cole river,	2000	
Opposite thereto, 2.950 } Burning Spring, 125 }	3,075	
		200,000*k*

	Acres.	Price.	Dollars.
MARYLAND.			
Charles county,	600	6*d.*	3,600*l*
Montgomery ditto,	519	12	6,228*m*
PENNSYLVANIA.			
Great Meadows,	234	6	1,404*n*
NEW-YORK.			
Mohawk river,	*about* 1000	6	6000*o*
NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.			
On Little Miami,	339		
Ditto,	977		
Ditto,	1,235		
	3,251	5	16,251*p*
KENTUCKY.			
Rough Creek,	3000		
Ditto adjoining,	2000		
	5000	2	10,000*q*

LOTS, *viz.*

CITY OF WASHINGTON.	
Two near the capitol, square 634, cost 963 dollars, and with buildings,	15,000*r*
Nos. 5, 12, 13, and 14, the three last water lots on the Eastern Branch, in square 667, containing together 34,438 square feet, at 12 cents,	4,132*s*
ALEXANDRIA.	
Corner of Pitt and Prince streets, half an acre laid out into buildings, three or four of which are let on ground rent at three dollars per foot,	4000*t*

Dollars.

WINCHESTER.

A lot in the town of half an acre, and another in the commons of about six acres, supposed 400*u*

BATH OR WARM SPRINGS.

Two well situated, and had buildings to the amount of 150l. 800*v*

STOCK.

UNITED STATES.

Six per cent.	3,746	
Ditto deferred,	1,873	2,500
Three per cent.	2,946	
		6,246*w*

POTOWMAC COMPANY.

Twenty-four shares cost each 100l. sterling, 10,666*x*

JAMES RIVER COMPANY.

Five shares each cost 100 dollars, 500*y*

BANK OF COLUMBIA.

One hundred and seventy shares, cost 40 dollars each, 6,800*z*

BANK OF ALEXANDRIA. 1000

Besides twenty shares to the free school—5

STOCK LIVING, *viz.*

One covering horse, five carriage horses, four riding ditto, six brood mares, 20 working horses and mares, 2 covering jacks, and 3 young ones; 10 she asses, 42 working mules, 15 younger ones, 329 head of horned cattle, 640 head of sheep, and a large stock of hogs, the precise number unknown. ☞ My manager has estimated this live stock at 7,000l. but I shall set it down in order to make a round sum, at 15,653

Aggregate amount, 530,000

NOTES.

a. THIS tract, for the size of it, is valuable, more for its situation than the quality of its soil, though that is good for farming; with a considerable proportion of ground, that might very easily be improved into meadow. It lies on the great road from the city of Washington, Alexandria and George-Town, to Leesburgh and Winchester, at Difficult Bridge, nineteen miles from Alexandria, less from the city and George-Town, and not more than three from Matildaville, at the great falls of Potowmac. There is a valuable seat on the premises, and the whole is conditionally sold for the sum annexed in the schedule.

b. WHAT the selling prices of lands in the vicinity of these two tracts are, I know not; but compared with those above the ridge, and others below it, the value annexed will appear moderate; a less one would not obtain them from me.

c. THE surrounding land not superior in soil, situation or properties of any sort, sells currently at from twenty to thirty dollars an acre. The lowest price is affixed to these.

d. THE observations made in the last note, apply equally to this tract, being in the vicinity of them, and of similar quality, although it lies in another county.

e. THIS tract, though small, is extremely valuable. It lies on Potowmac river, about twelve miles above the town of Bath (or Warm Springs) and is in the shape of a horse-shoe, the river running almost around it. Two hundred acres of it are rich low grounds, with a great abundance of the largest and finest walnut trees, which, with the produce of the soil, might (by means of the improved navigation of the Potowmac) be brought to a shipping port with more ease, and at a smaller expence, than that which is transported thirty miles only by land.

f. THIS tract is of second rate Gloucester low grounds. It has no improvements thereon, but lies on navigable water,

abounding in fish and oysters. It was received in payment of a debt (carrying interest) and valued in the year 1789 by an impartial gentleman, at 800l.

N. B. It has lately been sold, and there is due thereon a balance equal to what is annexed in the schedule.

g. These 373 acres are the third part of undivided purchases made by the deceased Fielding Lewis, Thos. Walker and myself, on full conviction that they would become valuable.—The land lies on the road from Suffolk to Norfolk, touches (if I am not mistaken) some part of the navigable water of Nansemond river. The rich Dismal Swamp is capable of great improvement; and, from its situation, must become extremely valuable.

h. This is an undivided interest which I held in the great Dismal Swamp Company, containing about 4000 acres, with my part of the plantation and stock thereon, belonging to the company in the said swamp.

i. These several tracts of land are of the first quality on the Ohio river, in the parts where they are situated, being almost, if not altogether, river bottoms. The smallest of these tracts is actually sold at ten dollars an acre, but the consideration therefor not received. The rest are equally valuable, and will sell as high, especially that which lies just below the Little Kenhawa; and is opposite to a thick settlement on the west side of the river. The four tracts have an aggregate breadth upon the river of sixteen miles, and are bounded there by that distance.

k. These tracts are situated upon the Great Kenhawa river, and the first four are bounded thereby for more than 40 miles. It is acknowledged by all who have seen them (and of the tract containing 10,990 acres, which I have been on myself, I can assert) that there is no richer or more valuable land in all that region. They are conditionally sold for the sum mentioned in the schedule, that is, 200,000 dollars, and if the terms of that

sale are not complied with, they will command considerable more. The tract, of which the 125 acres is a moiety, was taken up by general Andrew Lewis and myself, for, and on account of a bitumenous spring which it contains, of so inflammable a nature, as to burn as freely as spirits, and is nearly as difficult to extinguish.

l. I AM but little acquainted with this land, although I have once been on it. It was received (many years since) in discharge of a debt due to me from Daniel Jenifer Adams, at the value annexed thereto, and must be worth more. It is very level—lies near the river Potowmac.

m. THIS tract lies about 30 miles above the city of Washington, not far from Kittoctan. It is good farming land, and by those who are well acquainted with it, I am informed that it would sell at twelve or fifteen dollars per acre.

n. THIS land is valuable on account of its local situation and other properties. It affords an exceeding good stand on Braddock's road from Fort Cumberland to Pittsburgh; and, besides a fertile soil, possesses a large quantity of natural meadow, fit for the scythe. It is distinguished by the appellation of the Great Meadows, where the first action with the French, in the year 1754, was fought.

o. THIS is the moiety of about 2000 acres which remains unsold, of 6,071 acres on the Mohawk river (Montgomery county) in a patent granted to Daniel Coxe, in the township of Coxborough and Carolina, as will appear by deed, from Marinus Willet and wife, to George Clinton (late governor of New-York) and myself. The latter sales have been at six dollars an acre, and what remains unsold will fetch that or more.

p. THE quality of these lands and their situation, may be known by the surveyor's certificates, which are filed along with the patents. They lie in the vicinity of Cincinnati; one tract near the mouth of the Little Miami; another seven, and the

third ten miles up the same. I have been informed that they will readily command more than they are estimated at.

q. For the description of those tracts in detail, see general Spotswood's letters filed with the other papers relating to them. Besides the general good quality of the land, there is a valuable bank of iron ore thereon, which, when the settlement becomes more populous (and settlers are moving that way very fast) will be found very valuable, as the Rough creek, a branch of Green river, affords ample water for furnaces and forges.

LOTS, *viz.*

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

r. THE two lots near the capitol, in square 634, cost me 963 dollars only; but in this price I was favored, on condition that I should build two brick houses three stories high each: without this reduction the selling prices of these lots would have cost me about 1,350 dollars. These lots, with the buildings on them when completed, will stand me in 15,000 dollars at least.

s. LOTS Nos. 5, 12, 13 and 14, on the eastern branch, are advantageously situated on the water; and although many lots much less convenient have sold a great deal higher, I will rate these at 12 cents the square foot only.

ALEXANDRIA.

t. FOR this lot, though unimproved, I have refused 3,500 dollars. It has since been laid off into proper sized lots for building on, three or four of which are let on ground-rent for ever, at three dollars a foot on the street; and this price is asked for both fronts on Pitt and Prince-street.

WINCHESTER.

u. As neither the lot in the town or common have any improvements on them, it is not easy to fix a price; but as both are well situated, it is presumed the price annexed to them in the schedule is a reasonable valuation.

BATH.

v. The lots in Bath (two adjoining) cost me to the best of my recollection between 50 and 60 pounds, 20 years ago; and the buildings thereon 150l. more. Whether property there has increased or decreased in its value, and in what condition the houses are, I am ignorant—but suppose they are not valued too high.

STOCK.

w. These are the sums which are actually funded, and though no more in the aggregate than 7,566 dollars, stand me in at least ten thousand pounds, Virginia money; being the amount of bonded and other debts due to me, and discharged during the war, when money had depreciated in that rate—☞ and was so settled by public authority.

x. The value annexed to these shares is what they actually cost me, and is the price affixed by law; and although the present selling price is under par, my advice to the legatees (for whose benefit they are intended, especially those who can afford to lie out of the money) is, that each should take and hold one—there being a moral certainty of a great and increasing profit arising from them in the course of a few years.

y. It is supposed that the shares in the James river company must also be productive: but of this I can give no decided opinion, for want of more accurate information.

z. These are the nominal prices of the shares in the banks of Alexandria and Columbia; the selling prices vary according to circumstances; but as the stock usually divides from eight to ten per cent. per annum, they must be worth the former, at least, so long as the banks are conceived to be secure, although circumstances may sometimes make them below it.

The value of the live stock depends more upon the quality than quantity of the different species of it; and this again upon the demand and judgment, or fancy of purchasers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Mount Vernon, *July* 9, 1799.

(No. VI.)

ANONYMOUS LETTERS, &c.

[*In order to shew the situation of the army at the time the celebrated anonymous letters were promulgated, we think it expedient to precede them with the following interesting address.*]

TO THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

THE ADDRESS AND PETITION OF THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Humbly sheweth—

THAT we, the officers of the army of the United States, in behalf of ourselves and our brethren the soldiers, beg leave, with all proper deference and respect, freely to state to congress, the supreme power of the United States, the great distress under which we labor.

At this period of the war it is with peculiar pain we find ourselves constrained to address your august body, on matters of a pecuniary nature. We have struggled with our difficulties year after year, under the hopes that each would be the last; but we have been disappointed. We find our embarrassments thicken so fast, and have become so complex, that many of us are unable to go further. In this exigence we apply to congress for relief, as our head and sovereign.

To prove that our hardships are exceedingly disproportionate to those of any other citizens of America, let a recurrence be be had to the paymaster's accounts, for four years past. If to this it should be objected, that the respective states have made settlements and given securities for the pay due, for part of that time, let the present value of those nominal obligations be ascertained by the monied men, and they will be found to be worth little indeed; and yet, trifling as they are, many have been under the sad necessity of parting with them, to prevent their families from actually starving.

We complain that shadows have been offered to us, while the substance has been gleaned by others. Our situation compels us to search for the cause of our extreme poverty. The citizens murmur at the greatness of their taxes, and are astonished that no part reaches the army. The numerous demands, which are between the first collectors and the soldiers, swallow up the whole. Our distresses are now brought to a point. We have borne all that men can bear—our property is expended—our private resources are at an end—and our friends are wearied out and disgusted with our incessant applications. We therefore most seriously and earnestly beg, that a supply of money may be forwarded to the army, as soon as possible. The uneasiness of the soldiers, for want of pay, is great and dangerous; any further experiment on their patience, may have fatal effects. The promised subsistence or ration of provisions, consisted of certain articles specified in kind and quality. This ration, without regard, that we can conceive, to the health of the troops, has been frequently altered, as necessity or conveniency suggested,—generally losing by the change some part of its substance. On an average, not more than seven or eight-tenths have been issued; the retained parts were, for a short time, paid for; but the business became troublesome to those who were to execute it. For this, or some other reasons, all regard to the dues, as they respected the soldiers, has been discontinued (now and then a trifling gratuity excepted.) As these dues respected the officers, they were compensated during one year and part of another, by an extra ration; as to the retained rations, the account for several years remains unsettled; there is a large balance due upon it, and a considerable sum for that of forage.

The clothing was another part of the soldier's hire. The arrearages on that score, for the year 1777, were paid off in continental money, when the dollar was worth about four pence; the arrearages for the following years, are unliquidated, and we apprehend scarcely thought of, but by the army. Whenever there has been a real want of means, and defect in system, or neglect in execution, in the departments of the army, we have invariably been the sufferers, by hunger and nakedness, and by

languishing in an hospital. We beg leave to urge an immediate adjustment of all dues; that, as great a part as possible, be paid, and the remainder put on such a footing as will restore cheerfulness to the army, receive confidence in the justice and generosity of its constituents, and contribute to the very desirable effect of re-establishing public credit. We are grieved to find, that our brethren, who retired from service on half pay, under the resolution of congress in 1780, are not only destitute of any effectual provision, but are become the objects of obloquy. Their condition has a very discouraging aspect on us, who must sooner or later retire, and from every consideration of justice, gratitude and policy, demands attention and redress. We regard the act of congress respecting half pay, as an honorable and just recompence for several years hard service, in which the health and fortunes of the officers have been worn down and exhausted. We see with chagrin the odious point of view, in which the citizens of too many of the states endeavor to place the men entitled to it. We hope, for the honor of human nature, that there are none so hardened in the sin of ingratitude, as to deny the justice of the reward. We have reason to believe, that the objection generally is against the mode only. To prevent therefore any altercations and distinctions, which may tend to injure that harmony which we ardently desire may reign throughout the community, we are willing to commute the half pay pledged, for full pay, for a certain number of years, or for a sum in gross, as shall be agreed to by the committee sent with this address. And in this we pray, that the disabled officers and soldiers, with the widows and orphans of those, who have expended, or may expend, their lives in the service of their country, may be fully comprehended. We also beg, that some mode may be pointed out for the eventual payment of those soldiers, who are the subjects of the resolution of congress of the 15th May, 1778. To the representation now made, the army have not a doubt that congress will pay all that attention, which the serious nature of it requires. It would be criminal in the officers to conceal the general dissatisfaction which prevails, and is gaining ground in the army, from the pressure of evils and injuries, which, in the course of seven long years, have made their condition, in many

instances, wretched. They therefore entreat, that congress, to convince the army and the world, that the independence of America shall not be placed on the ruin of any particular class of her citizens, will point out a mode of immediate redress.

H. KNOX, *major-general*,
JOHN PATTERSON, *brigadier-general*,
J. GREATON, *colonel*,
JOHN CRANE, *colonel*,
H. MAXWELL, *lieutenant-colonel*,
} *on the part of the Massachusetts line.*

J. HUNTINGTON, *brigadier-general*,
H. SWIFT, *colonel*,
SAMUEL B. WEBB, *colonel*,
E. HUNTINGTON, *lieutenant-colonel*,
} *on the part of the Connecticut line.*

P. CORTLANDT, *colonel*, { *on the part of the New-York line.*

JOHN N. CUMMINGS, *lieutenant-colonel*, { *on the part of the N. J. l.*

WILLIAM SCOTT, *major*, { *on the part of the New-Hampshire line.*

W. EUSTIS, *hospital-surgeon*, { *on the part of the general hospital.*

MOSES HAZEN, *brigadier-general.*

CANTONMENTS, HUDSON'S RIVER, December, 1782.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS, DATED HEADQUARTERS, MARCH 12, 1783.

SIR,

"IT is with inexpressible concern I make the following report to your excellency:—Two days ago, anonymous papers were circulated in the army, requesting a general meeting of the officers on the next day. A copy of one of these papers is enclosed, No. 1.

"ABOUT the same time another anonymous paper, purporting to be an address to the officers of the army, was handed about in a clandestine manner. A copy of this is marked No. 2.

"To prevent any precipitate and dangerous resolutions from being taken at this perilous moment, while the passions were all inflamed; as soon as these things came to my knowledge, the next morning, I issued the enclosed order, No. 3—and in this situation the matter now rests.

"SINCE writing the foregoing, another anonymous paper has been put in circulation, a copy of which is enclosed, No. 4."

(No. 1, *referred to in the foregoing paper.*)

A MEETING of the general and field officers is requested at the public building, on Tuesday next, at 11 o'clock. A commissioned officer from each company is expected, and a delegate from the medical staff. The object of this convention is, to consider the late letter from our representatives in Philadelphia, and what measures (if any) should be adopted, to obtain that redress of grievances which they seem to have solicited in vain. [ANONYMOUS.]

(No. 2.)

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

GENTLEMEN,

A FELLOW-SOLDIER, whose interest and affections bind him strongly to you, whose past sufferings have been as great, and whose future fortune may be as desperate as yours—

would beg leave to address you. Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise: but, though unsupported by both, he flatters himself, that the plain language of sincerity and experience will neither be unheard nor unregarded.—Like many of you, he loved private life, and left it with regret. He left it, determined to retire, from the field, with the necessity that called him to it, and not *'till then*—not 'till the enemies of his country, the slaves of power, and the hirelings of injustice, were compelled to abandon their schemes, and acknowledge America as terrible in arms as she had been humble in remonstrance. With this object in view, he has long shared in your toils, and mingled in your dangers.—He has felt the cold hand of poverty without a murmur, and has seen the insolence of wealth without a sigh.—But, too much under the direction of his wishes, and sometimes weak enough to mistake desire for opinion, he has 'till lately—*very lately*, believed in the justice of his country. He hoped, that as the clouds of adversity scattered, and as the sunshine of peace and better fortune broke in upon us, the coldness and severity of government would relax, and that, more than justice, that *gratitude* would blaze forth upon those hands, which had upheld her, in the darkest stages of her passage; from impending servitude to acknowledged independence. But faith has its limits, as well as temper, and there are points, beyond which neither can be stretched, without sinking into cowardice, or plunging into credulity.—This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation. Hurried to the very verge of both, another step would ruin you forever.—To be tame and unprovoked when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and shew the world how richly you deserve *those chains* you broke. To guard against this evil, let us take a review of the ground upon which we now stand, and from thence carry our thoughts forward for a moment, into the unexplored field of expedient.

After a pursuit of seven long years, the object for which we set out is at length brought within our reach!—Yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours, was active once—it has conducted the United States of America through a doubt-

ful and a bloody war! It has placed her in the chair of independency, and *peace* returns again to bless—whom? A country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth and reward your services; a country courting your return to private life, with tears of gratitude, and smiles of admiration; longing to divide with you that independency which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved! Is this the case? or is it rather, a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries and insults your distresses? Have you not, more than once, suggested your wishes, and made known your wants to congress? Wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated, rather than evaded. And have you not lately, in the meek language of entreating memorial, begged from their justice, what you would no longer expect from their favor? How have you been answered? Let the letter which you are called to consider to-morrow make reply.

If this, then, be your treatment, while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division?

When these very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left, but your wants, infirmities and scars! Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor!—If you can, go—and carry with you the jest of tories and the the scorn of whigs—the ridicule, and what is worse, the *pity* of the world Go, starve, and be forgotten! But if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose tyranny under whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty: if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and princi-

ples—awake !—attend to your situation and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain ; and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now. I would advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion, upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the *fears* of government—change the milk and water style of your last memorial ; assume a bolder tone—decent, but lively—spirited and determined ; and suspect the man who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Let two or three men, who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your last remonstrance ; for I would no longer give it the sueing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of memorial. Let it be represented (in language that will neither dishonor you by its rudeness, nor betray you by its fears) what has been promised by congress, and what has been performed—how long and how patiently you have suffered ; how little you have asked, and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them that though you were the first, and would wish to be the last, to encounter danger ; though despair itself can never drive you into dishonor, it may drive you from the field : that the wound often irritated, and never healed, may at length become incurable ; and that the slightest mark of indignity from congress now, must operate like the grave, and part you forever : that in any political event, the army has its alternative. If *peace*, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death : if *war*, that courting the auspices and inviting the directions of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and " mock when their fear cometh on." But let it represent also, that should they comply with the request of your late memorial, it would make *you* more happy, and *them* more respectable : that while the war should continue, you would follow their standard into the field—and when it came to an end, you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject of wonder and applause :—*an army victorious over its enemies—victorious over itself.* [ANONYMOUS.]

(No. 3.)

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-quarters, March 11, 1783.

THE commander in chief having heard that a general meeting of the officers of the army was proposed to be held at the new building, in an anonymous paper, which was circulated yesterday by some unknown person, conceives, although he is fully persuaded that the good sense of the officers would induce them to pay very little attention to such an irregular invitation, his duty as well as the reputation and true interest of the army, requires his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings. At the same time he requests the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representative from the staff of the army, will assemble at 12 o'clock on Saturday next, at the new building, to hear the report of the committee of the army to congress. After mature deliberation, they will devise what farther measures ought to be adopted as most rational and best calculated to attain the just and important object in view. The senior officer in rank present will be pleased to preside, and report the result of their deliberations to the commander in chief.

(No. 4.)

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

GENTLEMEN,

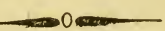
THE author of a late address, anxious to deserve, though he should fail to engage, your esteem ; and determined at every risk to unfold your duty and discharge his own, would beg leave to solicit the further indulgence of a few moments attention.

Aware of the coyness with which his last letter would be received, he feels himself neither disappointed nor displeased with the caution it has met. He well knew that it spoke a language which, 'till now, had been heard only in whispers, and that it contained some sentiments which confidence itself would have breathed with distrust. But their lives have been short, and their observations imperfect indeed, who have yet to learn, that alarms may be false; that the best designs are sometimes obliged to assume the worst aspect; and that, however synonimous surprize and disaster may be in military phrase, in moral and political meaning, they convey ideas as different as they are distinct. Suspicion, detestable as it is in private life, is the loveliest trait of political character. It prompts you to enquiry, bars the door against design, and opens every avenue to truth. It was the first to oppose a tyrant here, and still stands centinel over the liberties of America. With this belief it would illy become me to stifle the voice of this honest guardian—a guardian who, authorised by circumstances digested into proof, has herself given birth to the address you have read, and now goes forth among you with a request to all, that it may be treated fairly; that it may be considered before it be abused, and condemned before it be tortured; convinced that, in a search after error, truth will appear; that apathy itself will grow warm in the pursuit, and though it will be the last to adopt her advice, it will be the first to act upon it.

The general orders of yesterday, which the weak may mistake for disapprobation, and the designing dare to represent as such, wears, in my opinion, a very different complexion, and carries with it a very opposite tendency. 'Till now, the commander in chief has regarded the steps you have taken for redress with good wishes alone. His ostensible silence has authorized your meetings, and his private opinion has sanctified your claims. Had he disliked the object in view, would not the same sense of duty which forbad you from meeting on the third day of the week, have forbidden you from meeting on the seventh? Is not the same subject held up for your discussion? And has it not passed the seal of office, and taken all the solemnity of an order? This will give system to your proceedings, and sta-

bility to your resolves. It will ripen speculation into fact; and, while it adds to the unanimity, it cannot possibly lessen the independency of your sentiments. It may be necessary to add upon this subject, that, from the injunction with which the general orders close, every man is at liberty to conclude that the report to be made to head-quarters is intended for congress. Hence will arise another motive for that energy which has been recommended: for, can you give the lie to the pathetic description of your representations, and the more alarming predictions of your friends? To such as make a want of signature an objection to opinion, I reply, that it matters very little who is the author of sentiments which grow out of your feelings, and apply to your wants; that in this instance diffidence suggested what experience enjoins; and that while I continue to move on the high road of argument and advice, which is open to all, I shall continue to be the sole confident of my own secret. But, should the time come, when it shall be necessary to depart from this general line, and hold up any individual among you as an object of the resentment or contempt of the rest, I thus publicly pledge my honor as a soldier, and veracity as a man, that I will then assume a visible existence, and give my name to the army, with as little reserve as I now give my opinions.

[ANONYMOUS.]



CANTONMENT, 15th March, 1783.

The officers of the army being convened, agreeably to a general order of the 11th instant, the honorable major-general GATES, president, his excellency the COMMANDER IN CHIEF was pleased to address the meeting as follows—

GENTLEMEN,

BY an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide.

In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the reason and judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for, as men see through different optics, and are induced, by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion, the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance; or, in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candor and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice and love of country, have no part: and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest design. That the address is drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool, deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proof than a reference to the proceeding. Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to shew upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistent with your own honor, and the dignity of the army, to make known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore has not evinced to you, that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and wit-

ness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it, it can scarcely be supposed, at this late stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. If war continues, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself. But who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms and other property, which we leave behind us! Or, in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first, (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold and nakedness? If peace takes place, never sheath your swords, says he, until you have obtained full and ample justice. This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe? some emissary, perhaps, from New-York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature? But, here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because, it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice in this address to you, of an anonymous production;—but the manner in which that performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with

some other circumstances, will amply justify my observations on the tendency of that writing. With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man, who shall recommend moderate measures, and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man who regards that liberty and reveres that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences, that can invite the consideration of mankind; reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep, to the slaughter. I cannot in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honorable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings will do it complete justice: that their endeavors to discover and establish funds for this purpose have been unwearied, and will not cease 'till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt. But like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why then should we distrust them? and in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek nearer! No, most certainly in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity and justice; a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me—a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I have so long had the honor to command, will oblige me to declare in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost

extent of my abilities. While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favor, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained.—Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of congress, that previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago, and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you, for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

By thus determining and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind—"Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

HEAD-QUARTERS,

Newburgh, March 18th, 1783.

SIR,

THE result of the proceedings of the grand convention of the officers, which I have the honor of enclosing to your excellency for the inspection of congress, will, I flatter myself, be considered as the last glorious proof of patriotism which could have been given by men who aspired to the distinction of a patriot army; and will not only confirm their claim to the justice, but will encrease their title to the gratitude of their country. Having seen the proceedings on the part of the army terminate with perfect unanimity, and in a manner entirely consonant to my wishes; being impressed with the liveliest sentiments of affection for those who have so long, so patiently and so cheerfully suffered and fought under my immediate direction; having from motives of justice, duty and gratitude, spontaneously offered myself as an advocate for their rights; and having been requested to write to your excellency, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of congress upon the subjects of the late address from the army to that honorable body; it now only remains for me to perform the task I have assumed, and to intercede in their behalf, as I now do, that the sovereign power will be pleased to verify the predictions I have pronounced of, and the confidence the army have reposed in the justice of their country. And here I humbly conceive it is altogether unnecessary (while I am pleading the cause of an army which have done and suffered more than any other army ever did in the defence of the rights and liberties of human nature) to expatiate on their claims to the most ample compensation for their meritorious services, because they are known perfectly to the whole world, and because, (although the topics are inexhaustable) enough has already been said on the subject. To prove these assertions, to evince that my sentiments have ever been uniform, and to shew what my ideas of the rewards in question have always been, I appeal to the archives of congress, and call on those sacred deposites to witness for me. And in order that my observations and arguments in favor of a future adequate provision for the officers of the army may be brought to remem-

brance again, and considered in a single point of view, without giving congress the trouble of having recourse to their files, I will beg leave to transmit herewith an extract from a representation made by me to a committee of congress, so long ago as the 29th of January 1778, and also the transcript of a letter to the president of congress, dated near Pasaic Falls, October 11th, 1780.

That in the critical and perilous moment when the last mentioned communication was made, there was the utmost danger a dissolution of the army would have taken place unless measures similar to those recommended had been adopted, will not admit a doubt. That the adoption of the resolution granting half pay for life has been attended with all the happy consequences I had foretold, so far as respected the good of the service, let the astonishing contrast between the state of the army at this instant, and at the former period, determine. And that the establishment of funds, and security of the payment of all the just demands of the army, will be the most certain means of preserving the national faith and future tranquillity of this extensive continent, is my decided opinion.

By the preceding remarks it will readily be imagined, that instead of retracting and reprehending (from farther experience and reflection) the mode of compensation so strenuously urged in the enclosures, I am more and more confirmed in the sentiment, and if in the wrong, suffer me to please myself with the grateful delusion.

For if, besides the simple payment of their wages, a farther compensation is not due to the sufferings and sacrifices of the officers, then have I been mistaken indeed. If the whole army have not merited whatever a grateful people can bestow, then have I been beguiled by prejudice, and built opinion on the basis of error. If this country should not in the event perform every thing which has been requested in the late memorial to congress, then will my belief become vain, and the hope that has been excited, void of foundation. And if, (as has been suggested for the purpose of inflaming their passions) the officers of the army

are to be the only sufferers by this revolution ; "if retiring from the field they are to grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt—if they are to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor," then shall I have learned what ingratitude is, then shall I have realized a tale which will embitter every moment of my future life.

But I am under no such apprehensions : a country rescued by their arms from impending ruin, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude.

Should any intemperate or improper warmth have mingled itself amongst the foregoing observations, I must entreat your excellency and congress, it may be attributed to the effusion of an honest zeal in the best of causes, and that my peculiar situation may be my apology, and I hope I need not on this momentous occasion make any new protestations of personal disinterestedness, having ever renounced for myself the idea of pecuniary reward. The consciousness of having attempted faithfully to discharge my duty, and the approbation of my country, will be a sufficient recompence for my services.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

G° : WASHINGTON.

His excellency the president in congress.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO CONGRESS, ON RESIGNING HIS MILITARY COMMISSION.

December 23, 1783.

Mr. president,

THE great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust com-

e.C.

mitted to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

HAPPY in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which however was superceded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of heaven.

THE successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, encreases with every review of the momentous contest.

WHILE I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of congress.

I CONSIDER it an indispensible duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendance of them to his holy keeping.

HAVING now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewel to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

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Francis Huger.
Lieut. Anthony Gale
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Thomas Lee
W. M'Cleary
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THE DUST OF WASHINGTON.

BY JOSEPH BARBER.

The Tombs of England's honored dead
  Are, like her annals, grand;
Leaning o'er Chatham's buried head,
Drooping by Nelson's trophied bed,
As if their hearts of marble bled,
  Art's silent mourners stand.

But how, my Country, hast *thou* shrined
  Thy patriot-heroes' dust?
Hath he, in whose majestic mind
All human virtues were combined—
Hath he—the Champion of mankind—
  Carved urn or laureled bust?

No—from his Tomb th' unsculptured stones,
  Mildewed, and broken, fall;
No marble warders guard his bones,
His grave nor state nor nation owns,
And he who startled Europe's thrones
  Neglected lies of all.

The monuments that Nature gave
  Are melting fast away:
The branches that were wont to wave
Like banners o'er the good and brave,
Torn rudely from his hallowed grave,
  Are speculation's prey!

Conquered Cornwallis rests in state,
  So Howe and Carleton;
For Britain bars not Glory's gate
Against e'en her *defeated* great,
While *we* to him, whose sword was fate,
  A fitting tomb deny.

Sons of the Soil!—heirs of the fame
  Earth's purest patriot won,
Let not his memory be your shame,
The *sordid ransom* give, and claim
  The Dust of Washington!

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MOUNT VERNON IN 1796.

THE WASHINGTON STARS AND STRIPES.

At the public breakfast of the Americans in London, on the last anniversary of Washington's birth-day, Bishop McIlvaine, who presided, introduced Rev. J. Simkinson, the rector of the parish, in Northamptonshire, where the ancestors of Washington lived. In the course of his speech, which contained many interesting historical allusions to the family, which he had traced out, he stated that the last English ancestors of Washington who died on English soil lie buried in his church, and said: "When I look down, as I do in passing through the church, on the stars and stripes of the arms of Washington, nothing will ever persuade me or my parishioners that we do not possess the proof that your glorious and world-renowned country took the suggestion for its flag from those arms. When I see the three stars on the top of that shield, which is striped gules and argent, or in plain English red and white; when I see the five-pointed stars, not six-pointed stars, which is peculiar, nothing will ever persuade me that we do not possess the original of the great and glorious American banner." In closing his speech, he said: "Follow the course of Washington. You cannot have a nobler man to follow. May I say, in allusion to his arms, that I trust you will always bear in mind his three stars—the star of truth, the star of patriotism, and the star of trust in God."

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How Washington Delivered his Farewell Address.—In the *National Intelligencer*, during the year 1857, was given an extract from a letter written by a lady eighty years of age, residing in Philadelphia, to her grandson in Washington, describing the scene at the delivery of Washington's Farewell Address. The scene is graphically described, and we reproduce the extract, as appropriate at this time:

"When General Washington delivered his farewell address, in the room at the southeast corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets, I sat immediately in front of him. It was in the room the Congress occupied. There was a narrow passage from the door of the entrance to the room, which was on the east, dividing the rows of benches. Gen. Washington stopped at the end to let Mr. Adams pass to the chair. The latter always wore a full suit of bright drab, with slash, or rather loose cuffs. He also wore wrist ruffles. He had not changed his fashions. He was a short man, with a good head. With his family he attended our church twice a day. Gen. Washington's dress was a full suit of black. His military hat was a black cockade. There stood the father of his country, acknowledged by nations 'the first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen.' No marshals with gold-colored scarfs; no cheering. The most profound stillness greeted him, as if that great assembly desired to hear him breathe and catch his breath—the homage of the heart. Mr. Adams covered his face with both his hands. The sleeves of his coat and his hands were covered with tears. Every now and then there was a suppressed sob. I cannot describe Washington's appearance as I felt it—perfectly composed and self-possessed to the close of his address. Then, when strong men's sobs broke loose, when tears covered their faces, then the great man was shaken. I never took my eyes from his face. Large drops came from his eyes. He looked, to the grateful children who were parting with their father, their friend, as if his heart was with them, and would be to the end."

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WASHINGTON'S DIGNITY. — The visitors at Mount Vernon, many of whom have recorded their impressions, included a singular variety of characters, from the courtier of Versailles to the farmer of New England, from the English officer to the Italian artist; and it is remarkable, that, various as are the terms in which they describe the illustrious host, a perfect identity in the protraits is obvious. They all correspond with the description of Chief Justice Marshall:

"His exterior created in the beholder the idea of strength united with manly gracefulness. His person and whole deportment exhibited an unaffected and indescribable dignity, mingled with haughtiness, of which all who approached him were sensible; and the attachment of those who possessed his friendship and enjoyed his intimacy, was ardent, but respectful. His temper was humane, benevolent and conciliatory; but there was quickness in his sensibility to anything apparently offensive, which experience had taught him to correct."

An illustration of the last named trait is afforded in an incident related by the late Governor Morris, who was distinguished by an uncommon share of Washington's confidence and affection.

"At a convivial party to which Washington was invited, his remarkable traits were the subject of discussion among the company; and it was insisted that no one, however intimate, would dare to take a liberty with him. In a foolish moment of elation, Governor Morris accepted a bet that he would try the experiment. Accordingly, just before dinner was announced, as the guests stood in a group by the fire, he induced a somewhat lively chat, and in the midst of it, apparently from a casual impulse, clapped Washington familiarly on the shoulder. The latter turned and gave him such a mild and dignified yet grieved surprise, that even the self-possession of his friend deserted him. He sunk from that gaze of astonishment at his forgetfulness of respect, and the mirth of the company was instantly awed into silence."

It is curious, with this anecdote fresh in the mind, to revert to the eulogy delivered by Morris after the death of Washington: "You have all felt the reverence he inspired; it was such that to command seemed to him but the exercise of an ordinary function, while others felt that a duty to obey (anterior to the injunctions of civil ordinance or the compulsion of a military code), was imposed by the high behests of nature."—*H. T. Tuckerman in North American Review.*

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e.c.

memory of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Swift, who died June 12, 1592; in which inscription occur the lines alluded to. It would seem from the statement on the tablet, that it had been erected by a son of Dr. S., who succeeded him in the rectorship, and therefore it was probably of a much earlier period than the tombstone in Newport, R. I., or of Dr. Porson. R—A.

Scalping (vol. v., 25).—Rawlinson's "Herodotus," b. iv., ch. 64. (iii. p. 58), thus describes Scythian scalping: "In order to strip the skull of its covering, he makes a cut round the head above the ears, and laying hold of the scalp, shakes the skull out; then, with the rib of an ox, he scrapes the scalp clean of flesh, and softening it by rubbing between the hands, uses it thenceforth as a napkin. The Scyth is proud of these scalps, and hangs them from his bridle-rein; the greater the number of such napkins that a man can show, the more highly is he esteemed among them; many make themselves cloaks, like the capotes of [illegible]

Washington at Trenton.—Three of the choir of young girls who, dressed in white, greeted Washington as he entered Trenton, in 1789, on his way to New York, to assume the Presidency, and strewed his pathway with flowers, still survive. One yet lives in Trenton; one is the mother of Senator Chestnut, of South Carolina; and one, Mrs. Sarah Hand, resides in Cape May county.

N.Y. Hist. Mag. Oct. 1860.

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Washington's Farewell Address in Verse.—Who was the author of "A Versification of President Washington's excellent Farewell Address to the Citizens of the United States. By a gentleman of Portsmouth, N. H. Published according to act of Congress. Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Printed and sold by Charles Pierce, at the Columbian Bookstore, No. 6, Daniel Street, 1798?"

Books Dedicated to Washington (vol. iv., pp. 56, 90, 122, 153).—"An Experimental Inquiry into the Properties of Opium and its Effects on Living Subjects: with observations on its History, Preparations, and Uses, being the Disputation which gained the Harveian Prize for the year 1785. By John Leigh, M. D. Edinburgh: 1786." 8vo, 144 pages, has the following dedication:

This treatise is humbly inscribed
To
George Washington, Esq.;
A man Equally revered
By the friends and foes of his country,
And whose character will,
With unrivalled lustre,
Be transmitted to the
Latest ages of Posterity,
For Consummate Conduct and Courage,
Public and Private Virtue.

Edinburgh, May 15, 1786.

Pine's Portrait of Washington.—When the effects of Pine, the artist, were disposed of by lottery, as then permitted by the laws of Pennsylvania, among the list of objects was a portrait of Washington, by Pine. Can any of your readers tell what became of it?

The portrait of Washington, by Pine, was found in Montreal, in 1816 or '17, by the late Henry Brevoort, who purchased it; and it has been in his or his family's possession since that time. The history of the picture during the intervening period from 1790 to 1816, is not known. When brought to New York from Montreal, it was at once recognized as Pine's work, by Trumbull, Peale, Dunlap, and many persons who had seen it in the artist's possession. It was exhibited at the Athenæum in Boston, in 1829. B.

e.C.

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